

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: HISS/CHAMBERS

File Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Section: "See References"  
Pages 23 - 33



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## NOTICE

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## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

Pg 23

FILE NO: See ReferenceRE: Alger HissDATE March 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
62-80269-12	2/11/46	WFO Letter	4	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
62-80269-20	2/13/46	memo Ladd to the Director	3	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
116-624-37	3/25/47	WFO Letter w/enc1	11	4	N.P.
62-77787-4503	1/19/53	New York Letter	31	31	—
138-2493-6	2/10/54	New York Report	10	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
121-23982-6	9/14/50	memo Stanley to Belmont	2	2	N.P.
121-23982-7	9/14/50	Letter to WFO from The Director, FBI	1	1	N.P.
121-23982-11	9/25/50	Newark Report	9	1	N.P.
121-23982-23	10/10/50	WFO Report	22	3	N.P.
121-25564-7	3/8/51	New York Report	51	3	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
			144	51	

2/11/46

He stated JACK THOMPSON is in the office of Special Political Affairs, located in Room 164, State Building, and works in the office of ALGER HISS, who [redacted] described as a Communist Party member.

62-80269-12

2/11/46

spoke generally about the Communist infiltration in the Government and mentioned the high level group of Government employees who would not be found openly connected with the Party or with any Front organizations and who were specifically instructed not to display such connections. He mentioned such men as ALGER HISS, MAX LOWENTHAL and NATHAN WITT as typical of this class of Federal employees.

He mentioned for example that ALGER HISS, a Party member, had been Secretary General at San Francisco and the man whom Secretary of State STETTINIUS leaned upon for everything.

62-80269-12

2/13/46

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Thompson is in the Office of Special Political Affairs, Room 164, State Building, and works in the office of Alger Hiss, whom [REDACTED] described as a Communist Party member.

The Washington Field Office has identified Rowena Rommel as a former employee of the Budget Bureau who is a known contact of Priscilla Hiss, wife of Alger Hiss.

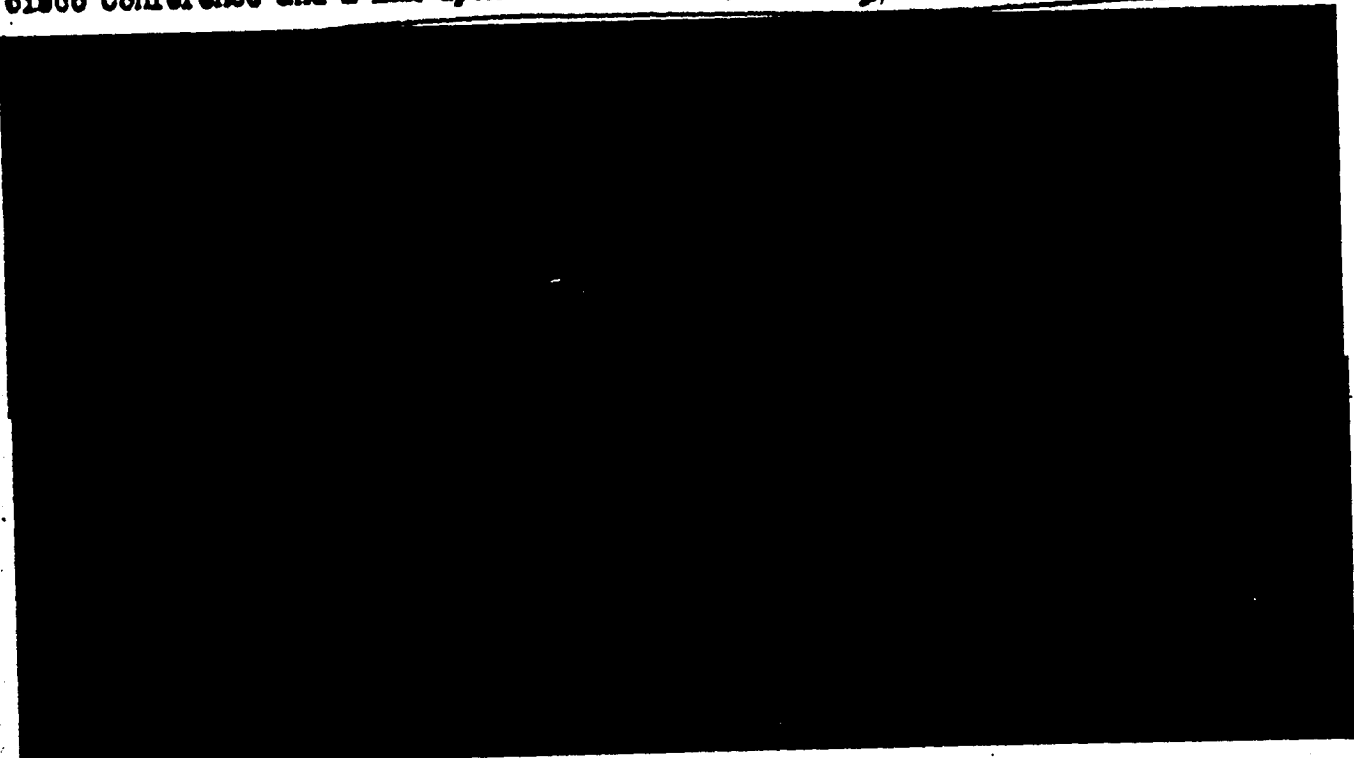
[REDACTED]

62-80269-20

Memorandum for the Director

2/13/46

*ll* [redacted] spoke generally about the Communist infiltration in the government and mentioned the high level group of government employees who would not be found openly connected with the Communist Party or with any front organizations and who were specifically instructed not to display such connections. He referred to Alger Hiss, Max Lowenthal and Nathan Witt as typical of this class of Federal employees. He pointed out that the importance of this group did not lie in numerical strength, but rather in the strategic positions which many of them hold. As an example, he cited Alger Hiss, who was Secretary General at the San Francisco Conference and a man upon whom Secretary of State Stettinius leaned heavily.



62-80269-20

116-624-37

3-25-47

*per [unclear]*  
The Bureau advised this office in a letter, dated March 27, 1946, that a confidential source had advised that JAMES R. NEWMAN was a member of a group of individuals involved in furnishing the Soviet Union with information regarding atomic energy. Listed in this group were Dr. EDWARD U. CONDON, advisor to the Senate Committee on Atomic Information headed by Senator BRIEN MC MAHON, HENRY AGARD WALLACE, DEAN ACHESON, HERBERT MARKS, JOHN J. MC CLOY, PAUL H. APPLEBY, GEORGE SCHWARTZWALDER, ALGER HISS and NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER.

G. T. H. = 9

116-624-37



It is also noted  
that HAROLD and LOBIN STEIN are friends of ALGER HISS, a subject in the case en-  
titled GREGORY, ESPIONAGE - R.

116-624-37

The Old Red Game:

SHIND HERALD  
March 23, 1947  
Washington, D. C.

# Condon Duped Into Sponsoring Commie-Front Outfit's Dinner

By WILLIAM ODLIN JR.

Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the Bureau of Standards, and one of the nation's top atomic scientists, has been named a sponsor of the Washington committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist-front organization now under investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it was revealed yesterday.

The 43-year-old atomic expert said last night he had no knowledge of the organization's background when he agreed to have his name included in a list of 45 prominent persons who are named

as sponsors of a dinner the conference is to give in the Statler Hotel April 7.

"A sweet-voiced lady whose name I don't remember called me and asked me if I would be a sponsor," he said. "I told her I thought it was rather silly, but when she told me Mrs. (J. Bor-den) Harriman and Mrs. (Gif-

(Turn to Page A-2, Col. 8)

# Condon Is Duped Into Sponsoring Red-Front Fete

(Continued from First Page)

ford) Pinchot had agreed to serve as sponsors I could see no harm in it."

Condon added that in allowing the group to use his name he undertook no responsibility. "I don't have to attend the dinner," he said.

"I spend most of my time in the 'lab' out here and I don't get much of a chance to know about these groups," commented the physicist, who was a member of the original committee on atomic energy.

## Never Head of Group

He said he had never heard of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare prior to his recruitment as a sponsor.

After investigating the conference and other groups created to foster Communist propaganda in this country, the House Committee of Un-American Activities reported in 1944:

"Behind a facade of loosely organized southern 'liberals,' the Communist party has initiated and manipulated the Southern Conference of Human Welfare in accordance with its partisan purposes."

The Communists themselves have not been reticent in claiming responsibility for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Earl Browder, Red presidential candidate, said in a radio address broadcast over Station WOL that the conference was one of the signs of "the awakening of the American people" and identified it as one of his party's "transmission belts."

The congressional committee exposed the remarkable similarity between the conference and the Communist party on foreign policy issues.

In 1938 the conference overwhelmingly supported the party's advocacy of "collective security of the democracies against fascist aggressors."

When Stalin and Hitler became temporary bedfellows by the peace pact of 1939, the conference and the party changed their tune to an "uncompromising peace policy."

A few "liberals" in the conference opposed the shift but they were effectively shouted down by the "straight party members" who used their control over the group to follow the Moscow pattern.

## "Unalterable" Is Altered

The rift between the Commies and the liberals was rapidly healed when Hitler attacked Russia and the party abandoned its "unalterable" opposition to war.

Other "sponsors" listed in the dinner announcement include: Senator Morse (R.), of Oregon; Thurman Arnold, former U. S. circuit court judge; Joseph E. Davies, former U. S. Ambassador to Russia, and Mrs. Wiley Rutledge, wife of the Supreme Court justice.

It was not disclosed whether any of the "sponsors" will attend the dinner or how large an affair it will be.

Black tie will be optional.

116-624-37

TIMES HERALD  
Washington, D. C.  
March 25, 1947

## Condon Facing U. S. Probe Into Soviet Society Affiliation

Bureau of Standards' Director  
Is Vague About His Membership

By WILLIAM ODLIN JR.

High on the agenda of investigations into the loyalty of Government employes will be a probe of the leadership in the American-Soviet Science Society of Dr. Edward U. Condon, Bureau of Standards chief and one of the nation's top atomic scientists, this newspaper learned yesterday.

Over long-distance telephone from Philadelphia where he is attending a meeting of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Condon said last night he had been a member of the society since he was associate director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratory and he is either a member of the society's board of directors or executive board, "I don't know which."

The society was formerly the Science Committee of the American-Soviet Friendship Council, but the affiliation between the two groups was dissolved when a number of prospective members looked askance at the political and propaganda activities of the council.

During its affiliation with the American-Soviet Friendship Council the Science Committee received an annual subsidy of approximately \$15,000 from the council. Since the name of the committee was changed to the American-Soviet Science Society it has appealed for a \$25,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

### Adjacent to Reds

Although the grant was approved by the foundation more than seven months ago, it has not materialized because the society has not received proper certification from the Bureau of Internal Revenue as a non-profit organization. Officials of the group are unable to explain the delay.

Condon said the society is composed of "200 or 300" American scientists but was unable to say with certainty whether any Russian scientists are attached to its offices, which are in the building of the American-Russian Institute, 58 Park Ave., New York city.

The atomic physicist, who also played a major role in the development of radar and rockets, said he had furnished the society with the names of other scientists at the Bureau of Standards but had not "recommended" their joining.

### Is Small Organization

"The society is a very small organization established for the exchange of purely scientific data between Russia and this country," Condon said. He added that most of the material came from the Soviet Union and that very little had been furnished the Russians from this country.

Duncan A. MacInnes, acting chairman of the society, said most material exchanged was of a "theoretical nature" and none of it had any military value. But he added no one screened the material to determine if it would be injurious to our national defense plans before it went to Russia.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (62-77787)

DATE: 1/19/53

FROM : SAC, New York (100-80478)

SUBJECT: UN, ORGANIZATION  
IS-R

Transmitted herewith for the information of the Bureau are two photostatic copies of a series of four articles by ALICE WIDENER concerning the UN which appeared in the periodical "Freeman", 10/20/52, 11/3/52, 11/17/52, and 12/15/52.

*THE SAC HAS REVIEWED IT*

Encls. (2)

- Index:* Alfred J. Van Tassel
- David Weintraub
- Irving Kaplan
- Eugene Wallach
- Oscar Schachter
- Alger Hiss
- Owen Lattimore
- David Owen
- Wilder Foote
- Ruth Crawford
- Frank C. Bancroft
- Julia Older Bazer
- Herbert Schimmel

FAC:EK

62-77787-4503

JAN 21 1953

INDEXED-86

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*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
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53 FEB 2 1953

Jan. 3, no. 2, p. 41-50 (New York, 20 Oct. 1952)

# The UN Has a Rule for It

By ALICE WIDENER

*The nature of U. S. participation in the United Nations Secretariat is assessed by a well-known Freeman writer in this and succeeding articles.*

Six American officials of the United Nations Secretariat were called before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City in May 1952. Evidence was presented that the six had been associated with pro-Communist and/or Communist organizations or had been named in connection with three spy rings that operated in the United States before, during and after World War II.

According to the *New York Times*, they were notified by the UN that their contracts had been terminated effective June 15 and June 30, 1952, on the ground that their services were no longer required. An informed UN source denied this, the *Times* said, but admitted that three Americans had recently left UN employment: two by termination and one by resignation.

It was also learned by the press that David Weintraub, director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs and Alfred Van Tassel, Acting Chief of the Information Section in the Technical Assistance Administration, had been subpoenaed for reappearance before the Grand Jury. Van Tassel had refused on privilege of not incriminating himself, to state whether he was a member of the Communist Party. Weintraub's recall was partly in connection with the dismissal of his UN assistant, Irving Kaplan, who "had declined on privilege of the fifth amendment to answer whether he was currently engaged in espionage." (Italics added.)

Up to the time of his testemony, Weintraub was a leading candidate for a higher UN post. But the *Times* reported, "It is said his selection has been blocked for the time being as a result of the Grand Jury investigation. He has acknowledged that he was responsible for getting Mr. Kaplan his position with the UN."

Mr. Weintraub also acknowledged under oath that during World War II, while he himself was working for the U. S. government, he gave references for several of the alleged spy-ring members when they were seeking employment with various government agencies in Washington.

At a UN Headquarters press conference, June 6, 1952, several correspondents asked questions designed to elicit a statement of United Nations policy on the matter of hiring American Communists as members of the Secretariat, a body often described as "an international civil service" which enjoys certain privileges and immunities.

"Secretary General Trygve Lie said today that the UN did not have a policy to discharge all U. S. Communists on its staff," the *Times* correspondent reported, "but he insisted on the right to get rid of any employee in the 'best interests' of the world organization." Both Lie and his chief administrative officer, Byron Price, insisted that Kaplan was the only employee whose name had appeared in print in connection with the Grand Jury hearings who had been dismissed. But, said the *Times*, it was learned that at least five others involved but not mentioned in print had been discharged or permitted to resign.

Official sources in the U. S. government have said that ever since 1946 certain of its agencies have been trying to induce the UN Secretariat to rid itself of subversive Americans, but that satisfactory action in the matter had been "blocked and postponed" until the UN heard reports that the outraged Grand Jury was about to make a public presentment of the charges.

## "Poor Security Risks"

The story smoldered for a while longer. Then, on June 18, it exploded in the press. "UN Plans to Oust 30 More of U. S. Aides for Red Work," the *Times* reported, quoting highly reliable sources as saying that because of illegal Communist activities

... about 15 members of the Secretariat already have been dismissed or have been asked to resign. At least twice that number still are scheduled for removal from the UN rolls. The dismissals—some here call them a "housecleaning" others a "purge"—have been going on at the UN for several months. The estimate is that they will continue until the end of 1952. . . . The answer—always unofficial and informal since the UN officials will not discuss the situation—is that the world organization must clean its lists of highly suspect persons "before a spy scandal" rocks its structure.

There are approximately 377 American members of the UN's administrative, professional and technical staff. Of these, according to the press, 45 were removed or about to be removed as poor security risks. And the *Chicago Tribune* Press Service reported in an article by Chesly Manly on July 27, 1952, that more than a third of the 377 "are believed to have had Communist affiliations before or since coming to the UN."

It is the UN administrative officials' point of

view that membership in the Communist Party of the U. S. is not in itself sufficient reason to dismiss an American from the UN staff. "The Communist Party is a legal political party in this country," declared Trygve Lie. He neglected to add that in New York State, for example, even the German-American Bund—with enough signed petitions to get on the ballot—could today be a political party. But under the Smith Act of 1940—a statute designed to protect U. S. internal security—it is a felony for an American to plot to advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence. Moreover, under United States law any person falsely publicized as "a Communist" may sue for libel and recover damages.

Some of the top American officials in the UN appeared to tolerate and even to try to shield several American staff members who, according to undisputed sworn testimony, had been engaged in or associated with activities held to be criminal in their country.

On June 20, 1952, the UN dismissed Eugene Wallach, an American citizen, from his post in its Language Services Division after he had appeared three times before the Grand Jury. It had learned facts concerning Wallach's career which the UN Bureau of Personnel claim they hadn't discovered during the six years of his employment. The truth, as reported in the *New York Journal American* by Howard Rushmore, is that in 1946 "Wallach quit a \$100 a month job as a full-time Communist Party functionary in New York State to take his present post in the UN." Though the UN paid Wallach approximately \$9000 (U. S. tax exempt) a year, its officials described him as only "a stenographic reporter."

Wallach could have got his UN job even if the Bureau of Personnel had known all about his Communist connection. On June 21, 1952, a brief *New York Times* news item about his dismissal stated: "Under United Nations rules former Nazis or Fascists are barred from employment but Communists are not included in the ban."

### Mr. Schachter Explains

On assignment from the *Freeman*, this writer—who believes that all totalitarians are equally undesirable—interviewed Mr. Oscar Schachter, Deputy Director of the UN General Legal Division, about UN rules for hiring personnel. He courteously granted permission to take notes in his presence for quotation.

"A United Nations staff member is similar in certain respects to a private employee," Mr. Schachter explained. "He or she is not an employee of the United States government or of any government. The best way to put it is set out in the UN Staff Regulations, particularly the First Article and the Oath."

The First Article may be summarized as stating

that members of the UN Secretariat are international civil servants whose responsibilities are exclusively international. Staff members "are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions," and the immunities and privileges they enjoy by virtue of the United Nations Charter furnish no excuse for non-performance of private obligations "or failure to observe laws and police regulations."

The chief requirements for all employees are "competence, efficiency and integrity" and according to the Oath they solemnly swear "not to seek or accept instruction" in regard to the performance of duties "from any government or other authority external to the Organization." (Italics added.)

It is difficult to see how Communists can possibly abide by the UN loyalty oath in view of the fact that the Communist Party requires them to disregard any other authority and to act only in what Lenin and Stalin called "submission to the single will of the Soviet director, of the dictator." Outside the UN, Communists are among the most zealous organizers of groups objecting to loyalty oaths.

Your reporter showed Mr. Schachter the *Times* clipping stating that the UN has an employment rule banning Fascists and Nazis.

"Is there any definition of terms in the ruling?" I asked. "Has it a regional or national or individual application? What, for example, would be the UN Bureau of Personnel view of a British Mosleyite or French *Croix de Feu* applicant for a job?"

"We've never had that problem, to my knowledge," Mr. Schachter replied. "I don't think it has ever come up."

Asked for the exact wording of the rule, Mr. Schachter took the trouble to look it up. "Apparently," he said, "this rule was set by the Preparatory Commission for the United Nations in London way back in 1945-46. If you remember, Stettinius was there, and next in line were Adlai Stevenson and Abe Feller. According to what it says here, the rule was discussed by the General Assembly in February 1946 and then interpreted into what is here." He read:

Rule 56: No persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities or connections with fascism or nazism.

After another request for an expression of his opinion on the vagueness of Rule 56, Mr. Schachter said: "Apparently this is a bad rule."

I inquired if there had been any official discussion of it lately at the UN—except for the anonymous statement to the *Times*—and whether it might perhaps be a good idea to reconsider the rule, especially if it is a bad one.

"Oh, I didn't mean to say it's a bad rule," Mr. Schachter explained. "After all, it was recommended by the Preparatory Commission—that's where it originated—and you've got to look at the thing in the light of historical political perspective. It

was long ago, just after the war, and I suppose they meant Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco's Spain."

Following Mr. Schachter's advice and looking at things in the revealing light of historical perspective, it is interesting to note that, in addition to the part that Secretary of State Stettinius, Adlai Stevenson and Dr. Abraham H. Feller (now UN General Counsel) played in organizing the UN, another American acted as first Secretary-General at the UN San Francisco Conference, and as principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation at the first General Assembly of the United Nations in London. His name is Alger Hiss.

### Red Totalitarians Not Barred

A look at the historical political situation in Germany, Japan, Italy and other countries leads a realistic observer to conclude that the UN's Staff Rule 56 might be used arbitrarily to bar from UN employment those nationals who associated with Nazis or Fascists—innocently or otherwise—but not nationals who associated with Communists or who actually belong to the Communist Party.

What would be UN personnel policy, I asked, in the following hypothetical case: A naturalized American (of German or Italian or Japanese extraction) applies for a job. This person had or is accused of having had "connections with fascism," and is or can be barred from the UN by Rule 56. However, if a naturalized American applies for a UN position and admits Communist Party membership, he or she can't be barred from employment.

"That's purely theoretical," Mr. Schachter answered. "Of course, such a case hasn't ever to my knowledge come up. I don't know exactly what the situation would be. I don't know exactly how this thing operates. But the main thing is to keep in mind it was an early rule and really applies, I suppose to Germans, Italians, Japanese, etc."

(The rules concerning permanent employment status on the UN Secretariat have the effect, I later learned from several UN press correspondents, of solidifying tenure and rendering the dismissal of undesirables, including subversive staff members and espionage agents, a difficult affair.)

Concerning the dismissals of Irving Kaplan and Eugene Wallach, Mr. Schachter explained: "Wallach was up for dismissal quite some time before the present situation developed. But a Special Committee reinstated him."

(It was well known at that time, I was later told, that the UN Appeals Board declared itself incompetent to reach a decision in Wallach's case. Thereupon, the Secretary-General appointed a three-man Special Committee to consider the matter. David Weintraub was a member of this Committee and concurred in its decision to reinstate Wallach.)

Mr. Schachter ended the interview with the statement: "Our personnel doesn't inquire into

people's political beliefs." This assertion doesn't appear to jibe with UN Rule 56 which is specifically aimed at some people's undesirable political beliefs.

Nevertheless, when David Weintraub appeared under subpoena before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington, May 15, 1952, there was the following colloquy:

SENATOR FERGUSON: Could I ask there, do I understand from your answers previously in executive session that the question of a person's political belief is not a qualification for employment with the United Nations?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That so far as I know is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: A person's political belief is not a question of employment in your particular branch?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: So that if all of them were Communists that would be within the scope of the employment there, or if they were all capitalists, that would be within the scope, is that correct?

MR. WEINTRAUB: Yes, that is correct theoretically.

The Senator then asked if there were an endeavor in the United Nations to match the Communists and anti-Communists "so that you have a ratio." Mr. Weintraub didn't answer yes or no, but referred to a UN Charter provision that Secretariat members should be selected primarily on competence but, insofar as possible, to reflect the geographic distribution of the world.

SENATOR FERGUSON: In other words, it would not make any difference to the United Nations that a person was a citizen of the United States and believed in communism and not capitalism as far as getting a job . . . was concerned. . . .

MR. WEINTRAUB: To my knowledge that is not a factor.

Thus it is clear, according to the United Nations Charter and Rule 56, that theoretically and legally all American employees in the Secretariat could be Communist.

In view of Rule 56, Mr. Weintraub's sworn statement concerning people's political beliefs was apparently inaccurate. But concerning the UN's view of American Communists, his testimony was accurate. That view was recently supported—both morally and materially—by the UN Staff Association, whose Council has been recognized by the General Assembly as "an official entity" of the United Nations.

In November 1951 Craig Thompson, in a *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Sinister Doings at the UN," said there was strong evidence that a group of Communist wreckers had penetrated the UN staff "clear down to the level of junior typists and janitors." He described a "strange battle, complete with name-calling and knife-in-the-back tactics, that has the surface appearance of a labor dispute but is in reality "a Communist effort to sabotage the Secretary-Generalship of Trygve Lie and gain control of the UN Secretariat." "The principal instrument used against Lie," said Mr. Thompson, "is a thing of his own creation . . . the Staff Association . . ." which he brought into

existence in 1946. It rapidly became the instrument of such distrust and tension that, by the autumn of 1950, Byron Price handed the Staff Committee a written statement amounting to an indictment for malicious mischief and for "disloyalty and self-seeking." A few weeks later Lie himself backed up Price's charges of employees' disloyalty to the UN. The *Post* article continued:

Nowhere, on either side, was the term "Communist" or "Communist Party" used. With complete sincerity, and utter unreality, UN staffers regard communism as a word without meaning to them since they are all internationalists together.

According to pattern and by means of classic Red technique, the UN Staff Association on July 10, 1952, passed by a "majority" of 43 votes out of a possible 4368 a resolution "to support" and "to collect funds for the legal assistance" of recently dismissed staff members, including those who refused to say before a New York Grand Jury and a Senate Committee whether they had been or were currently engaged in espionage.

It appears that causes for bitter internecine strife are inherent in the United Nations Charter and in its interpretation by the General Assembly. Despite the UN Administration's protestations of unconcern with people's political beliefs, members of the first session of the General Assembly—acting on the advice of international legal experts and of Alger Hiss—adopted Rule 56. It is a measure so "illegal" that it can be used as a means to establish an applicant's ineligibility for service in the United Nations solely on imputation of guilt by association.

In reality, Rule 56 is a tricky kind of cold-war weapon forged in the heat of post-World War II passions, when well-intentioned peoples were misled into joining forces with their betrayers and implacable enemies. Today, Americans and other free peoples appear weakly to tolerate the UN employment policy of not barring Communist nationals from non-Communist countries. As a result, the UN Secretariat is highly vulnerable to the Kremlin-organized political spoils system.

## Our Left-Handed Colleges

By E. MERRILL ROOT

*A college professor known to our readers for his poems, refutes the "liberal" contention that conservatives dominate American colleges.*

The public-address system of the Left, from the educational columns of the *New York Times* to the ukases of the Civil Liberties Union, forever dins into our ears the unrealistic cliché that American colleges are dominated by conservatives. To those of us who know, this is a fantastic inversion of truth. In American colleges today the political and cultural Left is militant and ruthless—blatantly speaking, eagerly heard, while the political and cultural Right is ridiculed and patronized, and (to its own shame) inarticulate and passive.

Amazingly, the many professors who would normally form on the Right allow themselves to be lulled or cowed into conformity. (Are they not "liberals," too, and therefore ready to tolerate the intolerable?) They are cowed by the power wielded by the collectivists in textbooks, in the great metropolitan papers, in the literary organs of the *Brainy Boys*, in the general din of doubtful talk where professors gather and chatter. They are cowed by their fear of verbal stones—"old-fashioned," "reactionary," "illiberal"—which, if they do not break professorial bones, do wound professorial vanity. They are lulled by their own dignity as gentlemen and scholars: they are averse to the din of the forum and the blood of the battlefield. Whatever

the reason, the result is clear: the majority of professors of the Right let a noisy minority, ruthless and sophisticated, usurp the academic megaphone. In so doing, they are as culpable as the decent people of Germany who hated Hitler but did nothing about it. The inarticulate professors of the Right must attack, attack, and again attack. Why leave all the audacity to Owen Lattimore?

All the current blather broadcast by the academic bleeding-hearts, that radical and even liberal professors are "silenced" and "frightened" is camouflage for the infiltrating tanks of One Big Government. Who actually gets more space on the air, in the press, in textbooks, magazines, even twenty-five cent books (what price "Ordeal by Slander"?) than these Sons of the Left, from Schlesinger to Lattimore? Today the McLiberals are the fair-haired boys of the academic world, who can do no wrong and to whom no outraged parent may say scat. Even in a Christian seminary Niebuhr is applauded when he says that communism is "Christian heresy."

One is led to believe that every "liberal" professor in the country is a frightened, innocent little rabbit, panting his heart out in an academic bunny hole. But does this truly describe the way in which



# UN: Haven for Traitors?

By ALICE WIDENER

*This is the second in a series of articles on the UN for which Mrs. Widener did special research. The first appeared in the Freeman for October 20.*

Apparently members of the UN Secretariat may engage in espionage against any nation, including the United States, with impunity and without fear of loss of jobs. This sensational information was stated quietly under oath to the U. S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee of the Judiciary on May 15, 1952 by David Weintraub, director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs. Mr. Weintraub appeared there under subpoena as a result of his and other UN officials' previous testimony before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City hearing evidence concerning Communist activities and espionage by American members of the UN Secretariat.

Mr. Weintraub had admitted to the Senate committee that he himself had recommended for UN employment an American assistant, Irving Kaplan, who refused in 1952 to tell the Grand Jury whether or not he was currently engaged in espionage and where his loyalties would lie in the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

SENATOR FERGUSON: Mr. Weintraub, is this a fair statement, that you never inquired about any of these people when you were recommending them as to whether or not they were Communists?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct. . . .

SENATOR FERGUSON: You do not ask a man whether he is a Communist or not?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: If he is working in an espionage ring, how would that affect his job there at the United Nations? . . . As far as the rule is concerned that if the espionage, the spy ring, was not a spy ring against the United Nations it would not make any difference, would it?

MR. WEINTRAUB: I would suppose that it would not make any difference.

Thus the alarming fact seems to be established that espionage, policy-subversion and what is often called cold-war treason against the United States or any other free country may be practiced in the United Nations Secretariat. And the American UN official who so testified under oath had had the benefit of advice from the UN legal department, headed by an American, Dr. Abraham H. Feller.

It is not astonishing, therefore, that the investigating Senators soon learned of a connection between UN official Weintraub and Owen Lattimore, who was described in a Senate Internal Security subcommittee report of July 2, 1952, as "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

when in 1950 the UN received from the government of Afghanistan a request for technical assistance, he personally recommended that Lattimore be appointed Chief of a UN Mission to that country. It is a highly strategic region, as everybody knows, for the defense of Asia from further penetration by the Soviet Union. Kabul City, its capital, is considered by top U. S. military authorities to be one of the most important listening posts in Asia.

## Just Happened to Recommend Lattimore

Mr. Weintraub testified that though he had never met Lattimore, hadn't read anything Lattimore had written about Afghanistan, and didn't know whether or not Lattimore had ever been there, he felt no hesitation in recommending Lattimore's appointment solely on the basis of expertness "in general Far-Eastern affairs."

When Mr. Sourwine, General Counsel of the Senate Judiciary Committee, asked, "What countries adjoining Afghanistan had Mr. Lattimore been in, to your knowledge?" Mr. Weintraub, who is largely responsible for spending approximately \$39,000,000 of UN Technical Assistance funds to which the United States contributes 60 per cent, replied: "Mongolia."

Mr. Sourwine inquired: "Where does Mongolia adjoin Afghanistan?"

"I am sorry," said Mr. Weintraub, "I would like to have a look at a map to help me on that. I just don't have that clearly enough in my mind."

Mr. Weintraub admitted he hadn't approached the U. S. State Department to inquire about Lattimore or any other American who might have valuable knowledge about Afghanistan; nor had he consulted with any other government to find out whether it had a subject or citizen qualified to do the job for the United Nations.

Hearing this, Senator Ferguson prodded incredulously: "Out of a clear sky, the name of Owen Lattimore came along?"

"I don't know how names occur to one, sir," faltered Mr. Weintraub.

Mr. Weintraub then testified that he and David Owen, then his UN superior as Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs, arranged a UN luncheon for Lattimore which eventually resulted in his appointment as Chief of the UN Mission to Afghanistan in March 1950.

It was during Lattimore's stay there that he was charged with being a top Soviet espionage agent by Senator Joseph McCarthy. Lattimore later described in "Ordeal by Slander" how he heard the news in Kabul City and determined not to hurry home to try to defend himself, because his quick departure from Kabul "would harm the United Nations Mission to Afghanistan and it would certainly be a terrible blow to American prestige." His decision to remain in Kabul was fortified by a cordial telegram from UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie, expressing his conviction that Lattimore would perform his duties in the best interests of Afghanistan and of the United Nations.

Continuing the story of his "ordeal," Lattimore declared that in his mission to Afghanistan, "there was a lot at stake." Undoubtedly the stakes there were high in 1950; they are even higher now.

The *New York Times* published last August a front-page story, "Red Designs on India," which stated that the Chinese Communists are setting up an army of 200,000 in Tibet, and are planning to infiltrate near-by Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, as well as Kashmir and Afghanistan, in preparation for moving into India itself. This, said the *Times*, would be preparatory "to the penetration of India, and Chinese Communist domination of all the mainland of Asia."

The American public, however, has never been officially informed by the United Nations precisely what it considered to be at stake in its 1950 Afghan adventure, for which the U. S. footed 60 per cent of the bill including payment of \$40 to \$50 a day plus incidental expenses to Owen Lattimore. Neither has the UN issued for public study any report on Lattimore's recommendations concerning technical assistance for Afghanistan; nor has the UN Technical Assistance Administration revealed to UN member nations exactly what its experts accomplished in Afghanistan. An article by David Owen in the *United Nations Bulletin* of July 1, 1952, does report that the UN Food and Agriculture Organization distributed about 500 scythes to the mountain farmers there and "at the request of the government, sent a Swiss farm implement expert to Afghanistan, accompanied by two Austrian assistants experienced in the scything of high pastures."

David Owen, a British subject, was Weintraub's superior in the UN Division of Economic Affairs and was recently made executive chairman of the UN Technical Assistance Board, with greatly increased administrative powers. During 1933-36 Owen was Secretary, and during 1940-41, General Secretary, of a British society called PEP (Political and Economic Planning), which has been described by a correspondent of an International news agency as "in reality the nuclear brain trust for the socialization and/or communization of England."

On July 15, 1941, PEP's fortnightly bulletin, *Planning*, came out for a unified scientific world

economic system with "modern government central planning." In December 1941 it analyzed the probable postwar situation and prophesied:

The overriding interest of the Soviet regime will be security, to repair the devastation of war and return to the interrupted task of building up a Socialist civilization within the borders of the USSR. The Russian land-mass is and will remain a largely self-contained system, with proportionately small influence, at any rate for some years to come, on the course of world economics.

In the same issue *Planning* remarked that Britain could diminish certain differences between the Anglo-Saxon and Soviet ways of life "by breaking down class barriers and by an increasing adoption of planned institutions and methods of which Soviet Russia was the pioneer."

### U. S. Cash but UN Credit

It would appear that Mr. Owen and his right-hand leftist man, David Weintraub, would like to use similar "planned institutions and methods" to bring economic welfare to the world through the United Nations.

During his testimony before the Senate subcommittee, Mr. Weintraub was asked if he'd ever taken the position that the U. S. Point Four program should be administered by an international organization and not by the United States. His reply was "Yes." He testified that the United States had supplied 60 per cent of the \$39,000,000 contributed by different countries to the UN's technical assistance program. And he explained:

The program in question [U. S. Point Four] is a program of technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. That question has been under discussion in the United Nations for years . . . and along with others, I felt that kind of activity is peculiarly suited for an international organization so as to put underdeveloped countries in a position of receiving economic assistance of that character from an organization of their own rather than receiving it on a bilateral basis from individual governments.

If the United States were to hand over its Point Four program for administration by the United Nations, then our country would put up all the cash and, in theory, have only one-sixtieth of the say-so about how, where and when it should be spent. And as far as U. S. cold-war gains in international good will are concerned, fifty-nine sixtieths of the political credit would go to UN member nations, including the Soviet Union.

U. S. appropriations for Point Four technical aid alone to countries in Asia, Africa and South America increased from \$8,000,000 in 1950 to \$19,000,000 in 1951. In addition, Point Four gave \$25,000,000 to the UN for its Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; an equal sum in final payment to the now-disbanded UN-sponsored International Refugee Organization;

and \$5,000,000 to the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, to which the Soviet Union does not contribute a red ruble. Total U. S. aid to foreign nations reached \$4.7 billion in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1951, with only \$1.2 billion allotted for military Mutual Defense.

Naturally, all socialist-minded political and economic planners striving to establish a single world economic system are avid for control of American Point Four and foreign aid funds. Some of these people are sincere Utopians and idealists, and some are cynical plotters in the service of the Kremlin.

#### Mr. Weintraub's Associates

Mr. Weintraub has shown a marked predilection for association with persons cited in sworn testimony as members of the Communist underground, especially with those who operated in three alleged spy rings centered in the U. S. government before, during and after World War II. His testimony to the Senate subcommittee shows that while he was working in various government agencies he knew six out of ten members of the "Silvermaster group," eight out of ten in the "Perlo group," and six out of seven in the "Ware-Abt-Hiss group" which included Alger and Donald Hiss, Lee Pressman, John Abt and Harold Ware, Communist son of the American Communist heroine Mother Bloor.

Mr. Weintraub also lent his name as reference for several members of the alleged spy rings when they sought government employment. Abraham George Silverman was a "social and business associate" of Weintraub and used his name as a reference when trying to get into the U. S. Air Force. But when Mr. Silverman was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950, and was asked: "What was the nature of your association and relationship with David Weintraub?" he refused to answer "... since what I would say might tend to incriminate me." Silverman also refused to answer a similar question about his relationship with Irving Kaplan.

It is evident from Weintraub's testimony and also from official statements made and documents issued, that he and several of his highly placed UN colleagues are in substantial agreement on many political and economic questions. These colleagues are: (1) Weintraub's handpicked assistant, Irving Kaplan, who would not tell the Grand Jury whether he is a spy; (2) Dr. Abraham H. Feller, General Counsel and director of the UN Legal Division; (3) Oscar Schachter, Feller's deputy director (see the *Freeman*, October 20, p. 48); (4) Wilder Foote, UN director of public information.

It is necessary only to look at these gentlemen's employment records to arrive at the inescapable conclusion that they probably have known of and been in agreement with one another's views for a long time. Before and during World War II, Weintraub and Kaplan worked together in several U. S.

government agencies, including the National Research Project and the War Production Board. Also during the war, Dr. Feller was general counsel of, and Wilder Foote was employed by the Red-infiltrated Office of War Information; and Mr. Schachter was legal adviser to the Board of War Communications. During the period 1944-46, Feller, Schachter, Weintraub and Kaplan worked together in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. From 1947 until Kaplan's dismissal last May, all four were in the UN Secretariat.

Mr. Foote was a representative of the U. S. Department of State at the first session of the UN General Assembly in London, 1946, when the principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation was Alger Hiss. Foote and Hiss were two of the three "State Department experts" whom Secretary of State Stettinius named as having traveled with him to the Yalta Conference in his book, "Roosevelt and the Russians."

Stettinius wrote on page 36 of having reviewed questions with Hiss and Foote "for subsequent discussion with Roosevelt." Further excerpts are:

After luncheon [with Eden and Molotov] I met immediately with Hiss and Foote to go over my notes for the afternoon meeting of the three leaders [Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin].

President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin on the last day of the Yalta Conference, signed the "Agreement on Terms for Entry of the Soviet Union into the War Against Japan." . . . The British and Russians had virtually no changes to suggest in the American document prepared principally by Wilder Foote. . . .

Several of Mr. Weintraub's UN colleagues are old hands at whitewashing the Chinese Reds. While Lattimore was in Kabul City in March 1950, Secretary-General Lie distributed to members of the UN Secretariat and to the Security Council a memorandum drafted by Abraham Feller. Its contents amounted virtually to a plea for the admission of Red China into the UN through advocating UN acceptance "of whatever government exercises effective control over Chinese territory." When Nationalist China's UN delegate, Dr. Tsiang, read the memorandum he blasted it not only as "bad law and bad politics," but as "a deliberate attempt to prejudice China's case before the United Nations."

The freedom-loving, conscientious employees and officials who constitute a majority within the UN Secretariat have become disheartened. Frustrated and intimidated by a powerful clique of totalitarians and left-wing radicals, they are looking to arouse American public opinion for help toward their own liberation and toward the achievement of UN ideals. For the kind of representation the U. S. has within the UN is a matter of concern for all Americans. It is linked with the success of international security, with our internal and peace and prosperity.

its union card from any market guilty of the practice.

Just as vital to the public as honest dealing is the good health of the men who handle the food for America's kitchens. To protect the public, the union maintains a small hospital on a street just off New York's waterfront. There a staff of physicians, surgeons and specialists keep sharp eyes on the union men who daily handle the tons of meat pouring through New York. Union members receive regular check-ups for early signs of communicable diseases. All services are free, including expensive operations, prolonged diagnostic work-ups, vaccinations and medicines.

This medical service is another of the forward-looking moves characteristic of the Amalgamated. As Gorman's aide, Louis Block, explains it, "Our members enjoy the highest rate of pay in the industry. Sooner or later we must reach the end of the wage spiral, the maximum in pay. Therefore we have started to compensate for those increases

we soon won't be able to win. With our medical plan, we have begun to give our people the equivalent of wage increases by cutting the cost of getting sick." Meanwhile the public benefits from the high standard of health assured by this union service.

Recently Gorman decided the time had come to move out of the old union headquarters in a grim part of Chicago and into a building on the city's lake-front that would match the headquarters of the businessmen with whom he dealt. He believed this would give the union a physical dignity his workers had long ago won for themselves. Pat Gorman is proud of the new building, and proud of the achievements it represents. For it is the fruit, not of bitter labor warfare, but of cooperation and understanding between labor and management — two groups of men who are partners in a joint enterprise. Apparently Pat Gorman's formula — peace with a square deal for both sides — has been a good thing for everyone concerned.

## Hiss Led the Way

By ALICE WIDENER

*In this third article of a series on the UN, Mrs. Widener traces the influence of Alger Hiss and other Communists in molding that organization.*

American participation in the United Nations started off on a left foot set down along a wrong path by Alger Hiss. As Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, April-June 1945, and as principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation at the first session of the UN General Assembly in London, January-February 1946, the Acheson-backed Mr. Hiss accomplished an astonishing feat of subversive leadership.

"Many Americans don't yet appreciate the real nature of Hiss's political talents," a Latin American member of the UN Secretariat recently told this writer. "I met him when he was Director of the U. S. State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs; and I had a chance to observe him closely at San Francisco. Hiss knew how to do two things: how to convince his departmental superiors that his own ideas were theirs; and how to persuade his subordinates that they themselves could become superior through faithful execution of his ideas. It's evident that many of the important and also of the inconspicuous American personnel who worked with Hiss in drawing up international treaties and setting up the UN organization got along well with him and agreed with his ideas.

Today, a most regrettable fact is that a large number of this American personnel are located in high and low posts in the UN Secretariat, in the U. S. Mission to the UN, in many of the UN's specialized agencies, and in departments of the U. S. government itself."

To mislead Americans along a United Nations road toward world communism, Hiss and the other Marxists and fellow-travelers camouflaged it by setting up slanted signposts purporting to guide innocent and ignorant wayfarers to a destination called "One World at Peace." Three main signposts are marked "Great Power Unanimity," "Peaceful Co-existence" and "Scientific Political, Social and Economic Planning." The many service stations along both sides of the wrong road bear such signs as "Technical Assistance Mission," "Students' and Teachers' Grants-in-Aid" and "Relief and Rehabilitation." Finally, to prevent Americans from quitting the wrong path, the misleaders put up phoney danger signals at all exits, flashing: Isolationism! — Fascist Reaction! — Warmongering! — China Lobby! — Wall Street Interests!

This was long ago planned by the Kremlin elite whose real policy toward international cooperation

and peace is to promote anything and everything leading to "world proletarian civil war." Stalin epitomized his own point of view in his declaration: "The path of 'reconciliation' must therefore be discarded as Utopian and pernicious" ("Marxism and the National and Colonial Question," p. 61). The Communist International summed up Kremlin policy in a pamphlet, "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists":

The international policy of the USSR is a peace policy which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in Soviet Russia. . . .

Concerning the proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Government: . . . The aim of the Soviet proposals is . . . to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism. . . . The disarmament policy of the Soviet Government must be utilized for purposes of agitation; . . . for recruiting sympathizers for the Soviet Union; . . . for carrying on propaganda among the masses in support of arming the proletariat.

The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace. . . . Revolutionary war of the proletariat [sic] dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means!"

Evidently working at a Communist task, a Rumanian with the alias Louis Dolivet, who has been identified in sworn testimony as "an agent of the Comintern" and who is now barred from the United States, wrote a book about the United Nations almost before the signatures on the Charter were dry. Dolivet's book contains a preface dated June 26, 1946, by Secretary-General Trygve Lie himself. Lie called for personal support of the United Nations by individual men and women throughout the world, and wrote: "This handbook on the United Nations . . . seems to me to capture the spirit of what we are doing and are going to do."

Dolivet's subversive capturing of the UN spirit was expressed in the startling statement on page 26: "to integrate the economic concepts of Russia and America would be a tremendous step in the direction of permanent peace." (Italics added.) On page 29, Dolivet wrote about the UN Department of Security Council Affairs: "Arkadi Sobolev, a Russian [Communist] is in charge of this department. . . . There is no territorial, military, or judicial dispute in the world that would not come to Sobolev's department for documentation."

Today Sobolev is gone from the UN Secretariat, but he has a successor, Mr. Constantine Zinchenko of the Soviet Union, to whom most of the vital problems concerning the United Nations and other nations come for documentation, including military matters concerning the United Nations Forces fighting in Korea.

Despite the Korean War, however, UN Delegate Eleanor Roosevelt sees little need for UN security measures against Communist espionage in the Sec-

are unnecessary there," Delegate Roosevelt wrote in *See* magazine, November 1952.

One purpose of the UN is to gather and distribute information, on practically every subject and for the free use of practically anybody. A spy would feel professionally foolish, when people are so eager to tell things.

The State Department might do well to instruct all American members of the UN Secretariat and the U. S. Mission to the UN about the basic fact of espionage: Spies learn secrets from people eager to tell things.

As a matter of fact, Delegate Roosevelt's naive statement proves a cardinal point made by alleged Soviet agent Dolivet in 1946. On the last page of his book "The United Nations" there is a statement pregnant with sinister implications:

Up to now many governments—and, for that matter, their peoples too—have not yet realized the full impact of the documents they have signed and ratified and of the organization of which they have become members. . . .

### The Schemers Moved in Early

A bitter truth which we Americans must now grasp is that when the United Nations was organized during World War II, only a few key people in our government — such as the powerful Alger Hiss — knew about the provisions and realized the full impact of the documents signed at Bretton Woods, Yalta, Potsdam and San Francisco. As a result, all phases of American participation in the United Nations appear to have been largely controlled or perverted by a hard core of schemers who worked their way via the Red-infiltrated U. S. State Department into the U. S. Mission to the UN and into the UN Secretariat.

Even before the very first session of the UN General Assembly in London, 1946, a few members of the U. S. government were apprehensive about the quality of American participation. Thus the *New York Times* reported on December 21, 1945, that Senator William Fulbright, author of one of the first resolutions favoring that participation, had challenged the appointments of several of the U. S. Delegates to the UN. Fulbright disclosed that the nominations "had been rushed through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a few minutes in the presence of only three senators." He charged:

The President is using this delegation as a means of rewarding several worthy individuals who have no special qualifications for the appointments and might give the impression to the other nations that we don't have any better men or don't take the UN very seriously.

Obviously, Senator Fulbright — a Democrat — sensed that something was amiss. Had he pursued the matter more vigorously, he might have found that Tompkins appointed some worthy

dividuals to the U. S. Delegation to the UN, the real affairs of the delegation were mostly in the hands of Principal Adviser Alger Hiss.

Even Adlai Stevenson was closely affiliated with Hiss, as is shown in his deposition of May 24, 1949 in Hiss's defense. Stevenson stated that he saw Hiss when Hiss came to London in January of 1946; that during the first UN General Assembly there in January and February "we had offices nearby each other and met frequently at delegation meetings and staff conferences."

Ever since Hiss went to prison, top Democratic Administration leaders have tried desperately to show that U. S. policy toward the UN was strictly bi-partisan and that Hiss occupied a wholly subordinate position in determining that policy. But on that point many apologists for the Administration have been forced to bear witness against it. Thus, on July 8, 1952, at the beginning of the UN press correspondents' radio program "United or Not," Congressman Mike Mansfield of Montana stated: ". . . by and large the feeling in this country is united behind the United Nations and I think that so far the policy has been on the whole on a bi-partisan basis." But at the end of that same broadcast Mansfield directly contradicted himself by blurting out: ". . . by and large, the foreign policy of this country has been dictated largely by the Democrats. . ."

The facts concerning Alger Hiss's dominant position in the Kremlin scheme for control over the UN were most accurately revealed by the State Department itself. As most Americans now know, Hiss was Deputy Director in 1944, and Director from 1945 to 1947, of the State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs. This Office is described in the State Department's official publication 4031, released December 1950, as "the point of coordination — the clearing house — within the Department, under the Secretary and President, through which our policies and activities were channeled for expression in the United Nations."

Some UN Administration officials have tried to deny that the U. S. Department of State influences the appointment of American personnel to the UN Secretariat. And for reasons unknown, the State Department, too, has often tried to deny its responsibility for recommending American personnel to the UN. Nevertheless, the real situation was explained to the *New York Daily Mirror*, June 7, 1952, by an official UN Bureau of Personnel spokesman, who said: "The usual custom is to employ persons recommended by a delegation or government." Because all members of the U. S. Mission to the UN hold appointments from the State Department, it bears full responsibility for the quality of American participation in the United Nations.

There's no mystery about this. What now needs

to be cleared away is the mystery of how a scad of State Department-sponsored American subversives played during 1933-1952 a game of leapfrog over the prostrate body of United States security. Evidently the game was fixed so that many of these subversives were able to jump into and out of U. S. government agencies, into and out of the State Department, into and out of the U. S. Mission to the UN, and to make a final safe landing in jobs at U. S. tax-exempt salaries in the palatial UN headquarters on New York's East River.

### On the Witness Stand

In October 1952, during only three days of hearings conducted in New York City by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee with Senators Homer Ferguson, Willis Smith and Herbert O'Connor present, a dozen American members of the UN Secretariat refused to say on privilege of not incriminating themselves whether they were or are members of the Communist Party. A thirteenth witness, Miss Ruth Crawford, was the exception. Chief writer for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund at a salary of more than \$9000 a year, Miss Crawford stated under oath that she was a card-carrying member of the Communist Party in 1935; that she never had taken steps to sever her connection with it; that she is now in sympathy with some Communist Party aims; that "I never apologized for joining the Communist Party. I never intend to."

Though Miss Crawford calls herself "an information specialist," she refused to give the Senate subcommittee any information about who helped her over the jumps when she played leapfrog from the U. S. Department of Labor over to the U. S. Children's Bureau and over to the UN Secretariat. Testimony given to the Senate subcommittee by Mr. Frank C. Bancroft and Mrs. Julia Older Bazer showed they are Americans employed in the UN Documents Control Division. This unit — part of which "pre-edits" extremely important UN documents — was partly organized, headed and partly staffed by a Pole named Adam Tarn who performed a remarkable series of political leaps within and away from our country. During World War II, Mr. Tarn was employed by the U. S. Office of War Information. On February 10, 1947, he joined the UN Secretariat, and remained in it long enough to set up the Documents Control unit. On May 21, 1949, he left the Secretariat in order to jump over into the Communist Polish Delegation to the UN, of which he was a member for nearly two years. Adam Tarn then went to Soviet Poland, where he recently wrote a play about the UN Secretariat with a hate-America theme.

Six months after Tarn went to the UN Documents control, Mr. Frank C. Bancroft became one of its editors. Mr. Bancroft is a self-styled "inactive" Episcopal minister who on February 12,

1941, sponsored the People's Institute of Applied Religion which the House Committee on Un-American Activities called "one of the most vicious Communist organizations ever set up in this country." In 1938, Frank C. Bancroft was editor of *Social Work Today*, concerning which the Committee on Un-American Activities declared: "A study of the contents and policies of this magazine indicates that it is primarily a vehicle whereby the line of the Communist Party is promulgated among social workers." On October 13, 1952, however, UN editor Bancroft refused on privilege of the Fifth Amendment to answer any questions about his association with *Social Work Today*.

Mrs. Julia Older Bazer — a colleague of Tarn's and Bancroft's in the UN Documents Control Division — is another American member of the leapfrog team. Some of the jumps she made during 1938-1945 in U. S. Government agencies were from the Department of Agriculture over to the Coordinator of Information and then over to the Office of War Information. While she was with the COI, Mrs. Older (as she prefers to be called) was suspended "on suspicions and charges" which had "something to do with taking documents home or out of the files or something like that." In 1943, according to her sworn testimony, Mrs. Older was "cleared and reinstated with the Office of War Information." Employed in the UN Secretariat at approximately \$9100 a year, Mrs. Older testified that she had "pre-edited" UN material under Mr. Tarn's directorship; but she refused under privilege of the Fifth Amendment to say whether or not she ever was or is now a member of the Communist Party.

One of the most aggressive witnesses at the Senate subcommittee hearings in October was Mr. Herbert Schimmel, a UN Economic Affairs officer working at \$9100 a year under the directorship of Mr. David Weintraub.<sup>2</sup> During the period 1936-1941, Mr. Schimmel jumped into and out of such U. S. government agencies as the National Research Project of the WPA and the House Committee Investigating Defense Migration. In 1946, he was administrative assistant to Senator Harley Martin Kilgore, who is — according to the *American Mercury* of October 1952 — "the favorite senator of the *Daily Worker*."

The refusal of Mr. Schimmel and other American members of the UN Secretariat to answer questions on privilege of the Fifth Amendment at the Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings of October 14, apparently prompted acting chairman Senator O'Connor's charge that "American traitors are actively identified with the United Nations." Senator O'Connor declared that confidence in the international organization is being destroyed because "It is very evident to this committee that the United Nations is honeycombed with individuals who are afraid to testify unequivocally whether

or not they are members of the Communist Party which is dedicated to the overthrow of this government."

According to an article by Judith Crist in the *New York Herald Tribune*, October 15, 1952, Senator O'Connor declared that the American public is going to learn about "the shocking UN situation through their legislative representatives" and that "unquestionably the matter will be presented to the Senate for proper legislative action." When Mr. Schimmel left the witness stand, Senator O'Connor said: "We're not through with you by a long sight, Mr. Schimmel. I can assure you of that."

## This Is What They Said

It has appeared to me that there is a definite liberal group among the [Chinese] Communists . . . men who would put the interest of the Chinese people above ruthless measures to establish a Communist ideology in the immediate future.

GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, January 7, 1947

Russia's first aim is to free her own territory, and the second aim is to free the enslaved peoples of Europe and then allow them to decide their own fate without any outside interference in their internal affairs.

JOSEPH STALIN, November 6, 1941

Communism is more of an economic than a political system really.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, radio program, February 20, 1951

If Senator McCarthy's information is so fragile, so shot full of hearsay and suspicion because of association that it falls apart, then it will be a boomerang that will hit him pretty hard at a time when he is running hard for reelection this fall [1950].

BERT ANDREWS, *New York Herald Tribune*, February 26, 1950

### The Shifting Sands

Show me the kind of steps a man made in the sand five years ago and I will show you the kind of steps he is likely to make in the same sand five years hence.

HUGO L. BLACK, when Senator, February 19, 1930

I did join the [Ku Klux] Klan. I later resigned. I never rejoined. . . . Before becoming a Senator I dropped the Klan.

HUGO L. BLACK, when Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, October 1, 1937

<sup>2</sup>See the *Freeman*, October 20 and November 3.

# The UN's Welfare Czar

By ALICE WIDENER

In this fourth article of a series on the UN, the author reveals that its program of aid to underdeveloped countries has, with the aid of the U. S. delegation, been placed under the dictatorial authority of an official in whose UN division there has been an alarming infiltration of American Communists.

On November 15, 1952, Dr. Benjamin Cohen, a Chilean who is Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations Department of Public Information declared:

Political problems have overshadowed United Nations publicity, but the most important work done by the United Nations itself is truly to be found in the field of economic and social problems, and in the freedom and progress of non-selfgoverning peoples.

This important statement presents in a nutshell the basic fact about the United Nations today: The Korean War has made it clear that the organization is unable to carry out its primary original purpose of maintaining and promoting peace; therefore the UN has been forced to shift its main activities away from political planning and over to planning for economic-social welfare.

A month after the war started, the UN adopted a multi-million dollar Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for Underprivileged Nations and set up a Technical Assistance Board to coordinate it. However, no official body of the UN has even given a clear definition of the term "underdeveloped." The United States has paid 60 per cent of the \$39 million already contributed for the Expanded Program; the Soviet Union pays nothing. At the New York Herald Tribune Forum, October 1952, UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie advocated a billion-dollar yearly budget for the UN program of economic development.

now: a representative from the UN Technical Assistance Administration and representatives of five specialized international agencies — the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization. In addition, non-voting observers from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were invited to attend meetings of the Technical Assistance Board and to cooperate with its work. Also in July 1950, UN Secretary-General Lie asked David Owen, a British subject who is Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the UN Department of Economic Affairs, to serve as acting chairman of the Technical Assistant Board.

This executive body was obliged by Resolution 222A (IX) of the UN Economic and Social Council to reach all decisions on the basis of unanimity. In other words, the Board was prevented from taking any action for aid to underdeveloped nations without the unanimous consent of its members. Thus the Board—like the UN Security Council—was hamstrung from the beginning by an undemocratic voting procedure based on an absolutist theory originally forced on the UN by the Soviet Union.

## Unanimous Disagreement

After less than a year, it became plain to everyone concerned with the Expanded Program that rivalry, jealousy and differences of opinion among the agencies belonging to the Technical Assistance Board prevented it from reaching important decisions unanimously. Thus the Board found it virtually impossible to function, and most of the funds for the Expanded Program remained unspent. It therefore became neces-

Council to revise the Board's voting procedure and improve its executive set-up. The Secretary-General's Administrative Coordinating Committee suggested to the Economic and Social Council's standing Technical Assistance Committee that it establish a "Working Party" to examine the situation and make a report.

On May 22-23, 1952, the Technical Assistance Committee met to discuss the Working Party Report. Several of its recommendations were adopted without much discussion, but some of them caused a heated debate in which eight nations—China, Cuba, Egypt, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines and Uruguay—were opposed by France, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. In all the complicated history of the UN debating society, no other discussion better illustrates what are some of the real dangers to freedom in the UN, and how weak, socialist-minded American leadership in that organization has intensified these dangers.

## Power Without Stint or Limit

The first objection raised by the eight dissenting nations concerned a proposal to give the UN Technical Assistance Board a powerful full-time Executive Chairman without setting a time limit on his tenure of office.

Cuba, under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Perez Cisneros, advocated the wise provision: "The appointment [of the Executive Chairman] shall be for a term of . . . years. An incumbent may be re-appointed." This was strongly supported by seven other countries. But Isador Lubin, a member of the U. S. Mission to the UN, who has contributed to Socialist publications, stated that in the opinion of the U. S. Delegation the Chairman's term of office should be fixed by Secretary-General Lie who "presumably" would consult with the heads of the specialized agencies concerning suitable candidates and other matters. According to the official rapporteur (UN Document E/TAC/Sr. 23) Mr. Lubin said that "while he could not recall a particular example, there were undoubtedly precedents for creating posts without specifying the term of office."



A second objection raised by the eight dissenting nations concerned the first sentence of a paragraph dealing with the proposed voting procedure for the Technical Assistance Board:

Decisions relative to recommendations or proposals of the Executive Chairman or made by members of the Board will normally be taken by general agreement between the Executive Chairman and all members of the Board.

Mr. Cisneros immediately pointed out: "This sentence is both a statement of fact and the expression of a wish."

A third and even more serious objection concerned the following paragraph:

When general agreement can not be reached, recommendations or proposals shall be considered approved when a majority of the members of the Board present and voting and the Executive Chairman are in agreement. If no agreement can be reached, the matter may be referred to the Technical Assistance Committee either by a majority of the members of the Board present and voting or by the Executive Chairman.

This arrangement was variously denounced by Mr. Fabregat of Uruguay, Mr. Cha of China, Mr. Hasan of Pakistan, Mr. Garcia of the Philippines, Mr. Abdoh of Iran, Mr. Pharaoh of Egypt and Mr. Gorostiza of Mexico as giving the Chairman such extensive powers that "He would be in a position to take arbitrary action and to supplant the Board itself"; also as granting the Chairman "powers without limitations."

Apparently inspired by American leadership, the French, Canadian and British representatives in the Technical Assistance Committee tried to overcome all opposition. A delegate from one of the eight objecting nations recently told this writer: "Holding on for dear life to the principles of freedom and democratic procedure, we eight small nations were struggling in high seas. But the United States delegation kept on pushing our heads under the water."

Handicapped, the eight nations finally agreed to endorse a Technical Assistance Committee report em-

reserved their right to present to it strong objections to those provisions relating to the powers of the Executive Chairman and the voting procedure of the TAB.

A former executive vice-president of a great American international business corporation has carefully examined the debated provisions and commented as follows: "It can be interpreted that the Executive Chairman has the power—in reporting to the Technical Assistance Committee—to ignore the Board. A complete analysis of this thing would require some pretty good legal talent. But the over-all impression is that the language is in such general terms that it doesn't make the Chairman's consultation with the Board mandatory. In American business, under the balance of power system, a majority of the Board can overrule the Chairman. The document talks about 'members present and voting' but doesn't say anything about a quorum. In the absence of a quorum, do decisions go by default to the Chairman? The whole matter of arriving at decisions through democratic process is involved. Under certain interpretations of this document, the powers of the Chairman would appear to be excessive."

### Mr. Lie Jumps the Gun

A meeting of the Economic and Social Council was scheduled to be held on Wednesday June 11, 1952 at 10:30 A.M. to discuss the Technical Assistance Committee report on the reorganization of the Technical Assistance Board and the proposed functions of its Executive Chairman. But on June 10, to the consternation of the dissenting nations, there appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* a report by its UN correspondent, Thomas J. Hamilton:

David Owen, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations for Economic Affairs, has accepted appointment as Executive Chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. [Italics added.]

Thus the eight nations learned that instead of debating a proposal on the morrow, they would merely be discussing a *fait accompli*. Immediately, some of them let their outraged feelings be known to the

When the Economic and Social Council met the next morning, the Chairman of the Technical Assistance Committee—Mr. de Seynes of France—opened the discussion with a statement that the appointment of a full-time Executive Chairman for the Technical Assistance Board would strengthen the whole set-up of the Expanded Program. He said he wished to stress that point "particularly because a certain newspaper, normally exceptionally accurate in its presentation of news, had the previous day published an article referring to decisions which had not yet been made and adopted by the Council, including comments on the relationship between the Chairman of the Board and the representatives of the specialized agencies, which were quite fantastic and unworthy of a journalist accredited to the United Nations."

This bitter attack on Mr. Hamilton was virtually unprecedented in the annals of the UN. Possibly it was justified, but there is almost incontrovertible evidence to the contrary. The official *United Nations Bulletin* of June 15 carries on its first page the heading "A Fortnightly Review" under which is the bracketed statement: "Covering the period May 30 to June 9." Paragraph three, under the caption "New TAB Chairman," states:

The growing importance and complexity of technical assistance activities has resulted in an interesting development on June 11, the appointment of a full-time chairman of the Technical Assistance Board. . . . To this position, the Secretary-General [Trygve Lie] has appointed Mr. David Owen . . .

Thus—when covering the period May 30 to June 9, 1952—the *United Nations Bulletin* editors announced a major decision by the Economic and Social Council supposedly arrived at on June 11.

Further evidence of Mr. Hamilton's accuracy is revealed in the Economic and Social Council's official record. For immediately after having attacked him, Chairman de Seynes ceded the floor to Martin Hill of the UN Secretariat who speaking for Trygve Lie, made what in the circumstances sounded like a *post factum* proposal for Mr. Owen's appointment explaining that it had

been unanimously agreed "that the best person for the task of Executive Chairman for the Technical Assistance Board was Mr. Owen." Mr. Hill then quoted Mr. Lie as saying: "I would not at this time propose to set any term to this arrangement."

Thus the eight dissenting nations were put in a position which one of their representatives has described as follows: "There is an enormous difference between discussing impersonally the powers of a vacant Chair, and discussing on a highly embarrassing personal basis a Chair with a man sitting on it. This is especially true in a case where the sitter happens to be a close associate and high-ranking official of an international body to which the debaters belong."

That the point was well taken is proved by the remark of Mr. Woulbroun, the Belgian representative, at the meeting of June 11, that Cuba's proposed time limit on the Executive Chairman's tenure of office "might give the impression that the Council did not have full confidence in the Executive Chairman."

#### A Chairman—and a Record

When the Council reconvened on the afternoon of June 11, there was little the eight dissenting members of the Technical Assistance Committee could do except diplomatically to congratulate Mr. David Owen and to reiterate their objections to dictatorial powers as a matter of principle "in the United Nations or anywhere else." Mr. Fabregat of Uruguay said:

The powers vested in the Executive Chairman would amount to a veto. Criticism of that procedure had been raised in connection with other United Nations organs and he saw no reason for extending such a manifestly unsatisfactory arrangement.

Despite this, Mr. Owen's appointment was confirmed; the Executive Chairman's tenure of office without limit was adopted by 8 votes to 3, with 7 abstentions; the voting procedure for the Board was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 7 abstentions. Then the whole matter was incorporated into an Economic and Social Council Report which, as this is written, is under consideration for adoption by the UN General As-

sembly. On pages 50 and 51 of this Report there is a summary of the legal documents involved, which reliable sources have said is misleading and inaccurate. Interested members of the Assembly might do well to compare the summary with the legal documents.

On November 12, 1952, according to the *New York Times*, David Owen reported to the Assembly that:

United Nations technical assistance programs list 956 experts at work in more than sixty countries. . . .

In addition to sending experts abroad, the United Nations, under its fellowship programs, is training 869 leaders from fifty countries in the institutes and agencies of forty-five countries, Mr. Owen said. . . . he noted that the world organization had recruited 1,598 experts from an enormous range of countries and had provided fellowship training for 2,697 professional men and women.

This represents "a great cross-fertilization of the technical ideas and skills of the world," Mr. Owen said. . . . Requests for 1953 will total about \$38,000,000, he continued. . . .

In view of Mr. Owen's record during 1946-1952 as head of UN Economic Affairs—during which time a hard core of alleged pro-Communists, Communists and/or espionage agents penetrated his department and held important positions within it, Americans should watch closely the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

Delegates to the current General Assembly have expressed stern criticism of it. Mrs. Lindstrom (Sweden) said her delegation "did not believe that the Technical Assistance Board was using the most efficient and rational methods in the selection of experts." It also appeared, she said, that social affairs experts were recruited "on the basis of personal interviews" and not on the basis of consultation with governments.

In this connection it might be remembered that David Owen sent Owen Lattimore to Afghanistan as Chief of the UN Technical Assistance Mission in 1950 partly on the basis of a personal interview at a UN luncheon.

Mr. Lee of China asked what is really holding up the rapid economic progress which the underdeveloped nations desire and said: "The an-

swer is . . . well understood by the common man. It is the threat of Communist aggression and infiltration."

Mr. Abdullah Baqr (Iraq) said: "It is regrettable that some of the most responsible officials of those administering technical assistance in the United Nations are being influenced in their judgments by preconceived ideas."

#### A Potential Red Network

A former high official of the U. S. government, who rendered invaluable service to our country in World Wars I and II, has studied the major documents relating to the UN Technical Assistance Board and has stated:

They raise the question as to what the position of the free world would be if the Executive Chairman were to fall under the control of subversive elements, or, if key positions in his organization, with or without his knowledge and acquiescence, should be occupied by Communists.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee, with the aid of the able legal counsel of Mr. Robert Morris, called to the witness stand a number of American citizens occupying key positions under David Owen. Practically all of them refused to answer whether they have been or are members of the Communist Party on the grounds of self-incrimination.

A man who is surrounded by alleged Communists or pro-Communists in key positions in his organization and either does not know it or does not recognize the hazard, is no man to entrust with exceptional powers and vast sums of money and with the power to select technical personnel and send missions with diplomatic immunity to all countries of the world.

In line with his present duties, David Owen holds regular monthly meetings with the Director-General of the UN Technical Assistance Administration, the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. According to informed sources, this last organization apparently has been and is now seriously infiltrated with American subversive elements. For example, its Secretary, Frank V. Coe, is described in the Senate Judiciary Committee report on the Institute of Pacific Relations as having "collab-

orated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony" and as having been "identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses."

Several logical conclusions may be drawn from consideration of the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, and from the present set-up of the Technical Assistance Board under Mr. Owen's Executive Chairmanship. *First:* Under no circumstances should the new Congress consent to the integration of the U. S. Point Four Program with the

UN's Technical Assistance Program, as the late General Counsel of the UN, Dr. Abraham H. Feller, and prominent Truman Administration leaders have advised. *Second:* Since the U. S. puts up 60 per cent of the money for the UN's program, the U. S. Delegation should urge the General Assembly to reexamine the matter of Mr. Owen's chairmanship and the powers of the Technical Assistance Board. *Third:* Congress should continue the investigation of American personnel in the UN Secretariat begun by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

conversation: it is at once initiation into an inheritance in which we have a life interest, and the exploration of its intimations.

Now American readers familiar with some of the less formal disquisitions on political theory in Britain will at least think they recognize overtones there. They seem to hear a modern restatement of something very much like Edmund Burke's idea of the body politic as precisely that—a body, an organism, in which the past and the present and intimations of the future are all together in one "great mysterious incorporation of the human race. . . ."

This incorporation, moreover, is not inverted, it has grown out of man's nature. It can not be invented; it must grow out of nature and tradition. Burke warned that:

All your sophisters can not produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we (the English) have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories of our rights and privileges.

This is from the passage in "The French Revolution" which, perhaps as well as any other, summarizes Burke. It will turn the American reader to the Oakeshott essay which seems, as much as any, to buttress, complement and clarify the sometimes understated and frequently overcompressed text of the Oakeshott Inaugural Lecture. This essay is the two-part discussion called "Rationalism in Politics" which Professor Oakeshott published in the *Cambridge Journal* of November and December 1947.

### On Political Knowledge

In this compelling paper, he broke political knowledge into two categories. "The first sort of knowledge I will call technical knowledge, the knowledge of technique. . . . It is possible to write down technical knowledge in a book. . . ." The technical knowledge of politics written down in a book becomes an ideology. The second sort of knowledge,

I call practical because it exists only in practise, is not reflective and (unlike technique) can not be formulated in rules. This does no

# Harold Laski's Successor

By C. P. IVES

On March 6, 1951, Professor Michael Oakeshott delivered his inaugural lecture at the School of Economics and Political Science of the University of London (LSE) as successor to Harold J. Laski in the chair of political science. At once a high peal of agony and of anger rang out from one of the great pundits of the British left and in the famous journal where the Marxoid punditry of Britain officially cerebrates. The pundit was the redoubtable Richard H. S. Crossman, the journal was the *New Statesman and Nation*; and both Mr. Crossman and his paper had a point.

For had the managers of the School searched the whole wide world for a man polar to Laski in temperament, in teaching, in instinct and sympathy (which perhaps they did) they could not have found one better fitting the specifications. In calling Mr. Oakeshott (he had been lecturer in history in the University of Cambridge) they seemed to be doing their best to proclaim the end of the age of Laski at the LSE.

In this way the appointment of Mr. Oakeshott has a meaning not merely for the British academic community but for English-speaking people everywhere. For the professorship of political science at the London School of Economics is one

of the most influential academic posts in the English-speaking world. In his early days Laski was a liberal and a pluralist and not even in the time of his maturity was he a Stalinist. But from the London School of Economics both *ex cathedra* and in incessant missionary forays Laski acted for many years as Marxoid evangel-in-chief to all the lands where "Capital" is read in English.

But if the new professor of political science at the London School of Economics is unlike Laski and if the unlikeness earns the disapprobation of Laski's admirers, what kind of man is the new professor, and what kind of politics does he teach?

Mr. Oakeshott's inaugural lecture was, quite appropriately, on "Political Education." Perhaps the core paragraph in the lecture, and possibly the one that offended the Laskites most was this:

What has to be learned (in political education) is not an abstract idea, of a set of tricks, not even a ritual, but a concrete, coherent manner of living in all its intricateness. It is clear, then, that we must not entertain the hope of acquiring this difficult understanding by easy methods. Though the knowledge we seek is municipal, not universal, there is no short cut to it. Moreover, political education is not merely a matter of coming to understand a tradition, it is learning how to participate in a

# The UN Has a Rule for It

By ALICE WIDENER

*The nature of U. S. participation in the United Nations Secretariat is assessed by a well-known Freeman writer in this and succeeding articles.*

Six American officials of the United Nations Secretariat were called before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City in May 1952. Evidence was presented that the six had been associated with pro-Communist and/or Communist organizations or had been named in connection with three spy rings that operated in the United States before, during and after World War II.

According to the *New York Times*, they were notified by the UN that their contracts had been terminated effective June 15 and June 30, 1952, on the ground that their services were no longer required. An informed UN source denied this, the *Times* said, but admitted that three Americans had recently left UN employment: two by termination and one by resignation.

It was also learned by the press that David Weintraub, director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs and Alfred Van Tassel, Acting Chief of the Information Section in the Technical Assistance Administration, had been subpoenaed for reappearance before the Grand Jury. Van Tassel had refused on privilege of not incriminating himself, to state whether he was a member of the Communist Party. Weintraub's recall was partly in connection with the dismissal of his UN assistant, Irving Kaplan, who "had declined on privilege of the fifth amendment to answer whether he was currently engaged in espionage." (Italics added.)

Up to the time of his testimony, Weintraub was a leading candidate for a higher UN post. But the *Times* reported, "It is said his selection has been blocked for the time being as a result of the Grand Jury investigation. He has acknowledged that he was responsible for getting Mr. Kaplan his position with the UN."

Mr. Weintraub also acknowledged under oath that during World War II, while he himself was working for the U. S. government, he gave references for several of the alleged spy-ring members when they were seeking employment with various government agencies in Washington.

At a UN Headquarters press conference, June 6, 1952, several correspondents asked questions designed to elicit a statement of United Nations policy on the matter of hiring American Communists as members of the Secretariat, a body often described as "an international civil service" which enjoys certain privileges and immunities.

"Secretary General Trygve Lie said today that the UN did not have a policy to discharge all U. S. Communists on its staff," the *Times* correspondent reported, "but he insisted on the right to get rid of any employee in the 'best interests' of the world organization." Both Lie and his chief administrative officer, Byron Price, insisted that Kaplan was the only employee whose name had appeared in print in connection with the Grand Jury hearings who had been dismissed. But, said the *Times*, it was learned that at least five others involved but not mentioned in print had been discharged or permitted to resign.

Official sources in the U. S. government have said that ever since 1946 certain of its agencies have been trying to induce the UN Secretariat to rid itself of subversive Americans, but that satisfactory action in the matter had been "blocked and postponed" until the UN heard reports that the outraged Grand Jury was about to make a public presentment of the charges.

## "Poor Security Risks"

The story smoldered for a while longer. Then, on June 18, it exploded in the press. "UN Plans to Oust 30 More of U. S. Aides for Red Work," the *Times* reported, quoting highly reliable sources as saying that because of illegal Communist activities

... about 15 members of the Secretariat already have been dismissed or have been asked to resign. At least twice that number still are scheduled for removal from the UN rolls. The dismissals—some here call them a "housecleaning" others a "purge"—have been going on at the UN for several months. The estimate is that they will continue until the end of 1952. . . . The answer—always unofficial and informal since the UN officials will not discuss the situation—is that the world organization must clean its lists of highly suspect persons "before a spy scandal" rocks its structure.

There are approximately 377 American members of the UN's administrative, professional and technical staff. Of these, according to the press, 45 were removed or about to be removed as poor security risks. And the *Chicago Tribune* Press Service reported in an article by Chesly Manly on July 27, 1952, that more than a third of the 377 "are believed to have had Communist affiliations before or since coming to the UN."

It is the UN administrative officials' point of

view that membership in the Communist Party of the U. S. is not in itself sufficient reason to dismiss an American from the UN staff. "The Communist Party is a legal political party in this country," declared Trygve Lie. He neglected to add that in New York State, for example, even the German-American Bund—with enough signed petitions to get on the ballot—could today be a political party. But under the Smith Act of 1940—a statute designed to protect U. S. internal security—it is a felony for an American to plot to advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence. Moreover, under United States law any person falsely publicized as "a Communist" may sue for libel and recover damages.

Some of the top American officials in the UN appeared to tolerate and even to try to shield several American staff members who, according to undisputed sworn testimony, had been engaged in or associated with activities held to be criminal in their country.

On June 20, 1952, the UN dismissed Eugene Wallach, an American citizen, from his post in its Language Services Division after he had appeared three times before the Grand Jury. It had learned facts concerning Wallach's career which the UN Bureau of Personnel claim they hadn't discovered during the six years of his employment. The truth, as reported in the *New York Journal American* by Howard Rushmore, is that in 1946 "Wallach quit a \$100 a month job as a full-time Communist Party functionary in New York State to take his present post in the UN." Though the UN paid Wallach approximately \$9000 (U. S. tax exempt) a year, its officials described him as only "a stenographic reporter."

Wallach could have got his UN job even if the Bureau of Personnel had known all about his Communist connection. On June 21, 1952, a brief *New York Times* news item about his dismissal stated: "Under United Nations rules former Nazis or Fascists are barred from employment but Communists are not included in the ban."

### Mr. Schachter Explains

On assignment from the *Freeman*, this writer—who believes that all totalitarians are equally undesirable—interviewed Mr. Oscar Schachter, Deputy Director of the UN General Legal Division, about UN rules for hiring personnel. He courteously granted permission to take notes in his presence for quotation.

"A United Nations staff member is similar in certain respects to a private employee," Mr. Schachter explained. "He or she is not an employee of the United States government or of any government. The best way to put it is set out in the UN Staff Regulations, particularly the First Article and the Oath."

The First Article may be summarized as stating

that members of the UN Secretariat are international civil servants whose responsibilities are exclusively international. Staff members "are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions," and the immunities and privileges they enjoy by virtue of the United Nations Charter furnish no excuse for non-performance of private obligations "or failure to observe laws and police regulations."

The chief requirements for all employees are "competence, efficiency and integrity" and according to the Oath they solemnly swear "not to seek or accept instruction" in regard to the performance of duties "from any government or other authority external to the Organization." (Italics added.)

It is difficult to see how Communists can possibly abide by the UN loyalty oath in view of the fact that the Communist Party requires them to disregard any other authority and to act only in what Lenin and Stalin called "submission to the single will of the Soviet director, of the dictator." Outside the UN, Communists are among the most zealous organizers of groups objecting to loyalty oaths.

Your reporter showed Mr. Schachter the *Times* clipping stating that the UN has an employment rule banning Fascists and Nazis.

"Is there any definition of terms in the ruling?" I asked. "Has it a regional or national or individual application? What, for example, would be the UN Bureau of Personnel view of a British Mosleyite or French *Croix de Feu* applicant for a job?" "We've never had that problem, to my knowledge," Mr. Schachter replied. "I don't think it has ever come up."

Asked for the exact wording of the rule, Mr. Schachter took the trouble to look it up. "Apparently," he said, "this rule was set by the Preparatory Commission for the United Nations in London way back in 1945-46. If you remember, Stettinius was there, and next in line were Adlai Stevenson and Abe Feller. According to what it says here, the rule was discussed by the General Assembly in February 1946 and then interpreted into what is here." He read:

Rule 56: No persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities or connections with fascism or nazism.

After another request for an expression of his opinion on the vagueness of Rule 56, Mr. Schachter said: "Apparently this is a bad rule."

I inquired if there had been any official discussion of it lately at the UN—except for the anonymous statement to the *Times*—and whether it might perhaps be a good idea to reconsider the rule, especially if it is a bad one.

"Oh, I didn't mean to say it's a bad rule," Mr. Schachter explained. "After all, it was recommended by the Preparatory Commission—that's where it originated—and you've got to look at the thing in the light of historical political perspective. I

was long ago, just after the war, and I suppose they meant Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco's Spain."

Following Mr. Schachter's advice and looking at things in the revealing light of historical perspective, it is interesting to note that, in addition to the part that Secretary of State Stettinius, Adlai Stevenson and Dr. Abraham H. Feller (now UN General Counsel) played in organizing the UN, another American acted as first Secretary-General at the UN San Francisco Conference, and as principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation at the first General Assembly of the United Nations in London. His name is Alger Hiss.

### Red Totalitarians Not Barred

A look at the historical political situation in Germany, Japan, Italy and other countries leads a realistic observer to conclude that the UN's Staff Rule 56 might be used arbitrarily to bar from UN employment those nationals who associated with Nazis or Fascists—innocently or otherwise—but not nationals who associated with Communists or who actually belong to the Communist Party.

What would be UN personnel policy, I asked, in the following hypothetical case: A naturalized American (of German or Italian or Japanese extraction) applies for a job. This person had or is accused of having had "connections with fascism," and is or can be barred from the UN by Rule 56. However, if a naturalized American applies for a UN position and admits Communist Party membership, he or she can't be barred from employment.

"That's purely theoretical," Mr. Schachter answered. "Of course, such a case hasn't ever to my knowledge come up. I don't know exactly what the situation would be. I don't know exactly how this thing operates. But the main thing is to keep in mind it was an early rule and really applies, I suppose to Germans, Italians, Japanese, etc."

(The rules concerning permanent employment status on the UN Secretariat have the effect, I later learned from several UN press correspondents, of solidifying tenure and rendering the dismissal of undesirables, including subversive staff members and espionage agents, a difficult affair.)

Concerning the dismissals of Irving Kaplan and Eugene Wallach, Mr. Schachter explained: "Wallach was up for dismissal quite some time before the present situation developed. But a Special Committee reinstated him."

(It was well known at that time, I was later told, that the UN Appeals Board declared itself incompetent to reach a decision in Wallach's case. Thereupon, the Secretary-General appointed a three-man Special Committee to consider the matter. David Weintraub was a member of this Committee and concurred in its decision to reinstate Wallach.)

Mr. Schachter ended the interview with the

people's political beliefs." This assertion doesn't appear to jibe with UN Rule 56 which is specifically aimed at some people's undesirable political beliefs.

Nevertheless, when David Weintraub appeared under subpoena before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington, May 15, 1952, there was the following colloquy:

SENATOR FERGUSON: Could I ask there, do I understand from your answers previously in executive session that the question of a person's political belief is not a qualification for employment with the United Nations?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That so far as I know is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: A person's political belief is not a question of employment in your particular branch?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: So that if all of them were Communists that would be within the scope of the employment there, or if they were all capitalists, that would be within the scope, is that correct?

MR. WEINTRAUB: Yes, that is correct theoretically.

The Senator then asked if there were an endeavor in the United Nations to match the Communists and anti-Communists "so that you have a ratio." Mr. Weintraub didn't answer yes or no, but referred to a UN Charter provision that Secretariat members should be selected primarily on competence but, insofar as possible, to reflect the geographic distribution of the world.

SENATOR FERGUSON: In other words, it would not make any difference to the United Nations that a person was a citizen of the United States and believed in communism and not capitalism as far as getting a job . . . was concerned. . . .

MR. WEINTRAUB: To my knowledge that is not a factor.

Thus it is clear, according to the United Nations Charter and Rule 56, that theoretically and legally all American employees in the Secretariat could be Communist.

In view of Rule 56, Mr. Weintraub's sworn statement concerning people's political beliefs was apparently inaccurate. But concerning the UN's view of American Communists, his testimony was accurate. That view was recently supported—both morally and materially—by the UN Staff Association, whose Council has been recognized by the General Assembly as "an official entity" of the United Nations.

In November 1951 Craig Thompson, in a *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Sinister Doings at the UN," said there was strong evidence that a group of Communist wreckers had penetrated the UN staff "clear down to the level of junior typists and janitors." He described a strange battle, complete with name-calling and knife-in-the-back tactics, that has the surface appearance of a labor dispute but is in reality "a Communist effort to sabotage the Secretary-Generalship of Trygve Lie and gain control of the UN Secretariat." "The principal instrument used against Lie," said Mr. Thompson, "is a thing of his own creation . . . the Staff Association . . ." which he brought into

existence in 1946. It rapidly became the instrument of such distrust and tension that, by the autumn of 1950, Byron Price handed the Staff Committee a written statement amounting to an indictment for malicious mischief and for "disloyalty and self-seeking." A few weeks later Lie himself backed up Price's charges of employees' disloyalty to the UN. The *Post* article continued:

Nowhere, on either side, was the term "Communist" or "Communist Party" used. With complete sincerity, and utter unreality, UN staffers regard Communism as a word without meaning to them since they are all internationalists together.

According to pattern and by means of classic Red technique, the UN Staff Association on July 10, 1952, passed by a "majority" of 43 votes out of a possible 4268 a resolution "to support" and "to collect funds for the legal assistance" of recently dismissed staff members, including those who refused to say before a New York Grand Jury and a Senate Committee whether they had been or were currently engaged in espionage.

It appears that causes for bitter internecine strife are inherent in the United Nations Charter and in its interpretation by the General Assembly. Despite the UN Administration's protestations of unconcern with people's political beliefs, members of the first session of the General Assembly—acting on the advice of international legal experts and of Alger Hiss—adopted Rule 56. It is a measure so "illegal" that it can be used as a means to establish an applicant's ineligibility for service in the United Nations solely on imputation of guilt by association.

In reality, Rule 56 is a tricky kind of cold-war weapon forged in the heat of post-World War II passions, when well-intentioned peoples were misled into joining forces with their betrayers and implacable enemies. Today, Americans and other free peoples appear weakly to tolerate the UN employment policy of not barring Communist nationals from non-Communist countries. As a result, the UN Secretariat is highly vulnerable to the Kremlin-organized political spoils system.

## Our Left-Handed Colleges

By E. MERRILL ROOT

*A college professor known to our readers for his poems, refutes the "liberal" contention that conservatives dominate American colleges.*

The public-address system of the Left, from the educational columns of the *New York Times* to the ukases of the Civil Liberties Union, forever dins into our ears the unrealistic cliché that American colleges are dominated by conservatives. To those of us who know, this is a fantastic inversion of truth. In American colleges today the political and cultural Left is militant and ruthless—blatantly speaking, eagerly heard, while the political and cultural Right is ridiculed and patronized, and (to its own shame) inarticulate and passive.

Amazingly, the many professors who would normally form on the Right allow themselves to be lulled or cowed into conformity. (Are they not "liberals," too, and therefore ready to tolerate the intolerable?) They are cowed by the power wielded by the collectivists in textbooks, in the great metropolitan papers, in the literary organs of the *Bralny Boys*, in the general din of doubtful talk where professors gather and chatter. They are cowed by their fear of verbal stones—"old-fashioned," "reactionary," "illiberal"—which, if they do not break professorial bones, do wound professorial vanity. They are lulled by their own dignity as gentlemen and scholars: they are averse to the din of the forum and the blood of the battlefield. Whatever

the reason, the result is clear: the majority of professors of the Right let a noisy minority, ruthless and sophisticated, usurp the academic megaphone. In so doing, they are as culpable as the decent people of Germany who hated Hitler but did nothing about it. The inarticulate professors of the Right must attack, attack, and again attack. Why leave all the audacity to Owen Lattimore?

All the current blather broadcast by the academic bleeding-hearts, that radical and even liberal professors are "silenced" and "frightened" is camouflage for the infiltrating tanks of One Big Government. Who actually gets more space on the air, in the press, in textbooks, magazines, even twenty-five cent books (what price "Ordeal by Slander"?), than these Sons of the Left, from Schlesinger to Lattimore? Today the McLiberals are the fair-haired boys of the academic world, who can do no wrong and to whom no outraged parent may say seat. Even in a Christian seminary Nelbuhr is applauded when he says that communism is "a Christian heresy."

One is led to believe that every "liberal" professor in the country is a frightened, innocent little rabbit, panting his heart out in an academic bunny-hole. But does this truly describe the way in which

# UN: Haven for Traitors?

By ALICE WIDENER

*This is the second in a series of articles on the UN for which Mrs. Widener did special research. The first appeared in the Freeman for October 20.*

Apparently members of the UN Secretariat may engage in espionage against any nation, including the United States, with impunity and without fear of loss of jobs. This sensational information was stated quietly under oath to the U. S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee of the Judiciary on May 15, 1952 by David Weintraub, director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs. Mr. Weintraub appeared there under subpoena as a result of his and other UN officials' previous testimony before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City hearing evidence concerning Communist activities and espionage by American members of the UN Secretariat.

Mr. Weintraub had admitted to the Senate committee that he himself had recommended for UN employment an American assistant, Irving Kaplan, who refused in 1952 to tell the Grand Jury whether or not he was currently engaged in espionage and where his loyalties would lie in the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

SENATOR FERGUSON: Mr. Weintraub, is this a fair statement, that you never inquired about any of these people when you were recommending them as to whether or not they were Communists?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct. . . .

SENATOR FERGUSON: You do not ask a man whether he is a Communist or not?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: If he is working in an espionage ring, how would that affect his job there at the United Nations? . . . As far as the rule is concerned that if the espionage, the spy ring, was not a spy ring against the United Nations it would not make any difference, would it?

MR. WEINTRAUB: I would suppose that it would not make any difference.

Thus the alarming fact seems to be established that espionage, policy-subversion and what is often called cold-war treason against the United States or any other free country may be practiced in the United Nations Secretariat. And the American UN official who so testified under oath had had the benefit of advice from the UN legal department, headed by an American, Dr. Abraham H. Feller:

It is not astonishing, therefore, that the investigating Senators soon learned of a connection between UN official Weintraub and Owen Lattimore, who was described in a Senate Internal Security subcommittee report of July 2, 1952, as "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

when in 1950 the UN received from the government of Afghanistan a request for technical assistance, he personally recommended that Lattimore be appointed Chief of a UN Mission to that country. It is a highly strategic region, as everybody knows, for the defense of Asia from further penetration by the Soviet Union. Kabul City, its capital, is considered by top U. S. military authorities to be one of the most important listening posts in Asia.

## Just Happened to Recommend Lattimore

Mr. Weintraub testified that though he had never met Lattimore, hadn't read anything Lattimore had written about Afghanistan, and didn't know whether or not Lattimore had ever been there, he felt no hesitation in recommending Lattimore's appointment solely on the basis of expertness "in general Far-Eastern affairs."

When Mr. Sourwine, General Counsel of the Senate Judiciary Committee, asked, "What countries adjoining Afghanistan had Mr. Lattimore been in, to your knowledge?" Mr. Weintraub, who is largely responsible for spending approximately \$39,000,000 of UN Technical Assistance funds to which the United States contributes 60 per cent, replied: "Mongolia."

Mr. Sourwine inquired: "Where does Mongolia adjoin Afghanistan?"

"I am sorry," said Mr. Weintraub, "I would like to have a look at a map to help me on that. I just don't have that clearly enough in my mind."

Mr. Weintraub admitted he hadn't approached the U. S. State Department to inquire about Lattimore or any other American who might have valuable knowledge about Afghanistan; nor had he consulted with any other government to find out whether it had a subject or citizen qualified to do the job for the United Nations.

Hearing this, Senator Ferguson prodded incredulously: "Out of a clear sky, the name of Owen Lattimore came along?"

"I don't know how names occur to one, sir," faltered Mr. Weintraub.

Mr. Weintraub then testified that he and David Owen, then his UN superior as Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs, arranged a UN luncheon for Lattimore which eventually resulted in his appointment as Chief of the UN Mission to Afghanistan in March 1950.



It was during Lattimore's stay there that he was charged with being a top Soviet espionage agent by Senator Joseph McCarthy. Lattimore later described in "Ordeal by Slander" how he heard the news in Kabul City and determined not to hurry home to try to defend himself, because his quick departure from Kabul "would harm the United Nations Mission to Afghanistan and it would certainly be a terrible blow to American prestige." His decision to remain in Kabul was fortified by a cordial telegram from UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie, expressing his conviction that Lattimore would perform his duties in the best interests of Afghanistan and of the United Nations.

Continuing the story of his "ordeal," Lattimore declared that in his mission to Afghanistan, "there was a lot at stake." Undoubtedly the stakes there were high in 1950; they are even higher now.

The *New York Times* published last August a front-page story, "Red Designs on India," which stated that the Chinese Communists are setting up an army of 200,000 in Tibet, and are planning to infiltrate near-by Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, as well as Kashmir and Afghanistan, in preparation for moving into India itself. This, said the *Times*, would be preparatory "to the penetration of India, and Chinese Communist domination of all the mainland of Asia."

The American public, however, has never been officially informed by the United Nations precisely what it considered to be at stake in its 1950 Afghan adventure, for which the U. S. footed 60 per cent of the bill including payment of \$40 to \$50 a day plus incidental expenses to Owen Lattimore. Neither has the UN issued for public study any report on Lattimore's recommendations concerning technical assistance for Afghanistan; nor has the UN Technical Assistance Administration revealed to UN member nations "exactly what its experts accomplished in Afghanistan. An article by David Owen in the *United Nations Bulletin* of July 1, 1952, does report that the UN Food and Agriculture Organization distributed about 500 scythes to the mountain farmers there and "at the request of the government, sent a Swiss farm implement expert to Afghanistan, accompanied by two Austrian assistants experienced in the scything of high pastures."

David Owen, a British subject, was Weintraub's superior in the UN Division of Economic Affairs and was recently made executive chairman of the UN Technical Assistance Board, with greatly increased administrative powers. During 1933-36 Owen was Secretary, and during 1940-41, General Secretary, of a British society called PEP (Political and Economic Planning), which has been described by a correspondent of an international news agency as "in reality the nuclear brain trust for the socialization and/or communization of England."

On July 15, 1941, PEP's fortnightly bulletin, *Planning*, came out for a unified scientific world

economic system with "modern government central planning." In December 1941 it analyzed the probable postwar situation and prophesied:

The overriding interest of the Soviet regime will be security, to repair the devastation of war and return to the interrupted task of building up a Socialist civilization within the borders of the USSR. . . . The Russian land-mass is and will remain a largely self-contained system, with proportionately small influence, at any rate for some years to come, on the course of world economics.

In the same issue *Planning* remarked that Britain could diminish certain differences between the Anglo-Saxon and Soviet ways of life "by breaking down class barriers and by an increasing adoption of planned institutions and methods of which Soviet Russia was the pioneer."

#### U. S. Cash but UN Credit

It would appear that Mr. Owen and his right-hand leftist man, David Weintraub, would like to use similar "planned institutions and methods" to bring economic welfare to the world through the United Nations.

During his testimony before the Senate subcommittee, Mr. Weintraub was asked if he'd ever taken the position that the U. S. Point Four program should be administered by an international organization and not by the United States. His reply was "Yes." He testified that the United States had supplied 60 per cent of the \$39,000,000 contributed by different countries to the UN's technical assistance program. And he explained:

The program in question [U. S. Point Four] is a program of technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. That question has been under discussion in the United Nations for years . . . and along with others, I felt that kind of activity is peculiarly suited for an international organization so as to put underdeveloped countries in a position of receiving economic assistance of that character from an organization of their own rather than receiving it on a bilateral basis from individual governments.

If the United States were to hand over its Point Four program for administration by the United Nations, then our country would put up all the cash and, in theory, have only one-sixtieth of the say-so about how, where and when it should be spent. And as far as U. S. cold-war gains in international good will are concerned, fifty-nine sixtieths of the political credit would go to UN member nations, including the Soviet Union.

U. S. appropriations for Point Four technical aid alone to countries in Asia, Africa and South America increased from \$8,000,000 in 1950 to \$19,000,000 in 1951. In addition, Point Four gave \$25,000,000 to the UN for its Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; an equal sum in final payment to the now-disbanded UN-sponsored International Refugee Organization;

and \$5,000,000 to the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, to which the Soviet Union does not contribute a red ruble. Total U. S. aid to foreign nations reached \$4.7 billion in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1951, with only \$1.2 billion allotted for military Mutual Defense.

Naturally, all socialist-minded political and economic planners striving to establish a single world economic system are avid for control of American Point Four and foreign aid funds. Some of these people are sincere Utopians and idealists, and some are cynical plotters in the service of the Kremlin.

#### Mr. Weintraub's Associates

Mr. Weintraub has shown a marked predilection for association with persons cited in sworn testimony as members of the Communist underground, especially with those who operated in three alleged spy rings centered in the U. S. government before, during and after World War II. His testimony to the Senate subcommittee shows that while he was working in various government agencies he knew six out of ten members of the "Silvermaster group," eight out of ten in the "Perlo group," and six out of seven in the "Ware-Abt-Hiss group" which included Alger and Donald Hiss, Lee Pressman, John Abt and Harold Wayne, Communist son of the American Communist heroine Mother Bloor.

Mr. Weintraub also lent his name as reference for several members of the alleged spy rings when they sought government employment. Abraham George Silverman was a "social and business associate" of Weintraub and used his name as a reference when trying to get into the U. S. Air Force. But when Mr. Silverman was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950, and was asked: "What was the nature of your association and relationship with David Weintraub?" he refused to answer "... since what I would say might tend to incriminate me." Silverman also refused to answer a similar question about his relationship with Irving Kaplan.

It is evident from Weintraub's testimony and also from official statements made and documents issued, that he and several of his highly placed UN colleagues are in substantial agreement on many political and economic questions. These colleagues are: (1) Weintraub's handpicked assistant, Irving Kaplan, who would not tell the Grand Jury whether he is a spy; (2) Dr. Abraham H. Feller, General Counsel and director of the UN Legal Division; (3) Oscar Schachter, Feller's deputy director (see the *Freeman*, October 20, p. 48); (4) Wilder Foote, UN director of public information.

It is necessary only to look at these gentlemen's employment records to arrive at the inescapable conclusion that they probably have known of and been in agreement with one another's views for a long time. Before and during World War II, Wein-

government agencies, including the National Research Project and the War Production Board. Also during the war, Dr. Feller was general counsel of, and Wilder Foote was employed by the Red-infiltrated Office of War Information; and Mr. Schachter was legal adviser to the Board of War Communications. During the period 1944-46, Feller, Schachter, Weintraub and Kaplan worked together in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. From 1947 until Kaplan's dismissal last May, all four were in the UN Secretariat.

Mr. Foote was a representative of the U. S. Department of State at the first session of the UN General Assembly in London, 1946, when the principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation was Alger Hiss. Foote and Hiss were two of the three "State Department experts" whom Secretary of State Stettinius named as having traveled with him to the Yalta Conference in his book, "Roosevelt and the Russians."

Stettinius wrote on page 36 of having reviewed questions with Hiss and Foote "for subsequent discussion with Roosevelt." Further excerpts are:

After luncheon [with Eden and Molotov] I met immediately with Hiss and Foote to go over my notes for the afternoon meeting of the three leaders [Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin].

President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin on the last day of the Yalta Conference, signed the "Agreement on Terms for Entry of the Soviet Union into the War Against Japan."

The British and Russians had virtually no changes to suggest in the American document prepared principally by Wilder Foote. . . .

Several of Mr. Weintraub's UN colleagues are old hands at whitewashing the Chinese Reds. While Lattimore was in Kabul City in March 1950, Secretary-General Lie distributed to members of the UN Secretariat and to the Security Council a memorandum drafted by Abraham Feller. Its contents amounted virtually to a plea for the admission of Red China into the UN through advocating UN acceptance "of whatever government exercises effective control over Chinese territory." When Nationalist China's UN delegate, Dr. Tsiang, read the memorandum he blasted it not only as "bad law and bad politics," but as "a deliberate attempt to prejudice China's case before the United Nations."

The freedom-loving, conscientious employees and officials who constitute a majority within the UN Secretariat have become disheartened. Frustrated and intimidated by a powerful clique of totalitarians and left-wing radicals, they are looking to an aroused American public opinion for help toward their own liberation and toward the achievement of UN ideals. For the kind of representation the U. S. has within the UN is a matter of concern for all Americans. It is linked with the success or failure of our foreign policy, with our internal and international security, and with world hopes for peace and prosperity.

its union card from any market guilty of the practice.

Just as vital to the public as honest dealing is the good health of the men who handle the food for America's kitchens. To protect the public, the union maintains a small hospital on a street just off New York's waterfront. There a staff of physicians, surgeons and specialists keep sharp eyes on the union men who daily handle the tons of meat pouring through New York. Union members receive regular check-ups for early signs of communicable diseases. All services are free, including expensive operations, prolonged diagnostic work-ups, vaccinations and medicines.

This medical service is another of the forward-looking moves characteristic of the Amalgamated. As Gorman's aide, Louis Block, explains it, "Our members enjoy the highest rate of pay in the industry. Sooner or later we must reach the end of the wage spiral, the maximum in pay. Therefore we have started to compensate for those increases

we soon won't be able to win. With our medical plan, we have begun to give our people the equivalent of wage increases by cutting the cost of getting sick." Meanwhile, the public benefits from the high standard of health assured by this union service.

Recently Gorman decided the time had come to move out of the old union headquarters in a grim part of Chicago and into a building on the city's lake-front that would match the headquarters of the businessmen with whom he dealt. He believed this would give the union a physical dignity his workers had long ago won for themselves. Pat Gorman is proud of the new building, and proud of the achievements it represents. For it is the fruit, not of bitter labor warfare, but of cooperation and understanding between labor and management — two groups of men who are partners in a joint enterprise. Apparently Pat Gorman's formula — peace with a square deal for both sides — has been a good thing for everyone concerned.

# Hiss Led the Way

By ALICE WIDENER

*In this third article of a series on the UN, Mrs. Widener traces the influence of Alger Hiss and other Communists in molding that organization.*

American participation in the United Nations started off on a left foot set down along a wrong path by Alger Hiss. As Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, April-June 1945, and as principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation at the first session of the UN General Assembly in London, January-February 1946, the Acheson-backed Mr. Hiss accomplished an astonishing feat of subversive leadership.

"Many Americans don't yet appreciate the real nature of Hiss's political talents," a Latin American member of the UN Secretariat recently told this writer. "I met him when he was Director of the U. S. State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs; and I had a chance to observe him closely at San Francisco. Hiss knew how to do two things: how to convince his departmental superiors that his own ideas were theirs; and how to persuade his subordinates that they themselves could become superior through faithful execution of his ideas. It's evident that many of the important and also of the inconspicuous American personnel who worked with Hiss in drawing up international treaties and setting up the UN organization got along well with him and agreed with his ideas.

Today, a most regrettable fact is that a large number of this American personnel are located in high and low posts in the UN Secretariat, in the U. S. Mission to the UN, in many of the UN's specialized agencies, and in departments of the U. S. government itself."

To mislead Americans along a United Nations road toward world communism, Hiss and the other Marxists and fellow-travelers camouflaged it by setting up slanted signposts purporting to guide innocent and ignorant wayfarers to a destination called "One World at Peace." Three main signposts are marked "Great Power Unanimity," "Peaceful Co-existence" and "Scientific Political, Social and Economic Planning." The many service stations along both sides of the wrong road bear such signs as "Technical Assistance Mission," "Students' and Teachers' Grants-in-Aid" and "Relief and Rehabilitation." Finally, to prevent Americans from quitting the wrong path, the misleaders put up phoney danger signals at all exits, flashing: Isolationism! — Fascist Reaction! — War-mongering! — China Lobby! — Wall Street Interests!

This was long ago planned by the Kremlin elite whose real policy toward international cooperation

and peace is to promote anything and everything leading to "world proletarian civil war." Stalin epitomized his own point of view in his declaration: "The path of 'reconciliation' must therefore be discarded as Utopian and pernicious" ("Marxism and the National and Colonial Question," p. 61). The Communist International summed up Kremlin policy in a pamphlet, "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists":

The international policy of the USSR is a *peace policy* which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in Soviet Russia. . . .

Concerning the proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Government: . . . The aim of the Soviet proposals is . . . to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism. . . . The disarmament policy of the Soviet Government must be utilized for purposes of agitation; . . . for recruiting sympathizers for the Soviet Union; . . . for carrying on propaganda among the masses in support of arming the proletariat.

The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace.

. . . Revolutionary war of the proletariat [*sic*] dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means!"

Evidently working at a Communist task, a Rumanian with the alias Louis Dolivet, who has been identified in sworn testimony as "an agent of the Comintern" and who is now barred from the United States, wrote a book about the United Nations almost before the signatures on the Charter were dry. Dolivet's book contains a preface dated June 26, 1946, by Secretary-General Trygve Lie himself. Lie called for personal support of the United Nations by individual men and women throughout the world, and wrote: "This handbook on the United Nations . . . seems to me to capture the spirit of what we are doing and are going to do."

Dolivet's subversive capturing of the UN spirit was expressed in the startling statement on page 26: "*to integrate the economic concepts of Russia and America would be a tremendous step in the direction of permanent peace.*" (Italics added.) On page 29, Dolivet wrote about the UN Department of Security Council Affairs: "Arkadi Sobolev, a Russian [Communist] is in charge of this department. . . . There is no territorial, military, or judicial dispute in the world that would not come to Sobolev's department for documentation."

Today Sobolev is gone from the UN Secretariat, but he has a successor, Mr. Constantine Zinchenko of the Soviet Union, to whom most of the vital problems concerning the United Nations and other nations come for documentation, including military matters concerning the United Nations Forces fighting in Korea.

Despite the Korean War, however, UN Delegate Eleanor Roosevelt sees little need for UN security measures against Communist espionage in the Secretariat. "The truth is, under-cover investigators

are unnecessary there," Delegate Roosevelt wrote in *See* magazine, November 1952.

One purpose of the UN is to gather and distribute information, on practically every subject and for the free use of practically anybody. A spy would feel professionally foolish, when people are so eager to tell things.

The State Department might do well to instruct all American members of the UN Secretariat and the U. S. Mission to the UN about the basic fact of espionage: Spies learn secrets from people eager to tell things.

As a matter of fact, Delegate Roosevelt's naive statement proves a cardinal point made by alleged Soviet agent Dolivet in 1946. On the last page of his book "The United Nations" there is a statement pregnant with sinister implications:

Up to now many governments—and, for that matter, their peoples too—have not yet realized the full impact of the documents they have signed and ratified and of the organization of which they have become members. . . .

### The Schemers Moved in Early

A bitter truth which we Americans must now grasp is that when the United Nations was organized during World War II, only a few key people in our government — such as the powerful Alger Hiss — knew about the provisions and realized the full impact of the documents signed at Bretton Woods, Yalta, Potsdam and San Francisco. As a result, all phases of American participation in the United Nations appear to have been largely controlled or perverted by a hard core of schemers who worked their way via the Red-infiltrated U. S. State Department into the U. S. Mission to the UN and into the UN Secretariat.

Even before the very first session of the UN General Assembly in London, 1946, a few members of the U. S. government were apprehensive about the quality of American participation. Thus the *New York Times* reported on December 21, 1945, that Senator William Fulbright, author of one of the first resolutions favoring that participation, had challenged the appointments of several of the U. S. Delegates to the UN. Fulbright disclosed that the nominations "had been rushed through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a few minutes in the presence of only three senators." He charged:

The President is using this delegation as a means of rewarding several worthy individuals who have no special qualifications for the appointments and might give the impression to the other nations that we don't have any better men or don't take the UN very seriously.

Obviously, Senator Fulbright — a Democrat — sensed that something was amiss. Had he pursued the matter more vigorously, he might have found that though Truman appointed some worthy individuals

dividuals to the U. S. Delegation to the UN, the real affairs of the delegation were mostly in the hands of Principal Adviser Alger Hiss.

Even Adlai Stevenson was closely affiliated with Hiss, as is shown in his deposition of May 24, 1949 in Hiss's defense. Stevenson stated that he saw Hiss when Hiss came to London in January of 1946; that during the first UN General Assembly there in January and February "we had offices nearby each other and met frequently at delegation meetings and staff conferences."

Ever since Hiss went to prison, top Democratic Administration leaders have tried desperately to show that U. S. policy toward the UN was strictly bi-partisan and that Hiss occupied a wholly subordinate position in determining that policy. But on that point many apologists for the Administration have been forced to bear witness against it. Thus, on July 8, 1952, at the beginning of the UN press correspondents' radio program "United or Not," Congressman Mike Mansfield of Montana stated: ". . . by and large the feeling in this country is united behind the United Nations and I think that so far the policy has been on the whole on a bi-partisan basis." But at the end of that same broadcast Mansfield directly contradicted himself by blurting out: ". . . by and large, the foreign policy of this country has been dictated largely by the Democrats."

The facts concerning Alger Hiss's dominant position in the Kremlin scheme for control over the UN were most accurately revealed by the State Department itself. As most Americans now know, Hiss was Deputy Director in 1944, and Director from 1945 to 1947, of the State Department's Office of Special Political Affairs. This Office is described in the State Department's official publication 4031, released December 1950, as "the point of coordination — the clearing house — within the Department, under the Secretary and President, through which our policies and activities were channeled for expression in the United Nations."

Some UN Administration officials have tried to deny that the U. S. Department of State influences the appointment of American personnel to the UN Secretariat. And for reasons unknown, the State Department, too, has often tried to deny its responsibility for recommending American personnel to the UN. Nevertheless, the real situation was explained to the *New York Daily Mirror*, June 7, 1952, by an official UN Bureau of Personnel spokesman, who said: "The usual custom is to employ persons recommended by a delegation or government." Because all members of the U. S. Mission to the UN hold appointments from the State Department, it bears full responsibility for the quality of American participation in the United Nations.

There's no mystery about this. What now needs

to be cleared away is the mystery of how a scad of State Department-sponsored American subversives played during 1933-1952 a game of leapfrog over the prostrate body of United States security. Evidently the game was fixed so that many of these subversives were able to jump into and out of U. S. government agencies, into and out of the State Department, into and out of the U. S. Mission to the UN, and to make a final safe landing in jobs at U. S. tax-exempt salaries in the palatial UN headquarters on New York's East River.

### On the Witness Stand

In October 1952, during only three days of hearings conducted in New York City by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee with Senators Homer Ferguson, Willis Smith and Herbert O'Connor present, a dozen American members of the UN Secretariat refused to say on privilege of not incriminating themselves whether they were or are members of the Communist Party. A thirteenth witness, Miss Ruth Crawford, was the exception. Chief writer for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund at a salary of more than \$9000 a year, Miss Crawford stated under oath that she was a card-carrying member of the Communist Party in 1935; that she never had taken steps to sever her connection with it; that she is now in sympathy with some Communist Party aims; that "I never apologized for joining the Communist Party. I never intend to."

Though Miss Crawford calls herself "an information specialist," she refused to give the Senate subcommittee any information about who helped her over the jumps when she played leapfrog from the U. S. Department of Labor over to the U. S. Children's Bureau and over to the UN Secretariat.

Testimony given to the Senate subcommittee by Mr. Frank C. Bancroft and Mrs. Julia Older Bazer showed they are Americans employed in the UN Documents Control Division. This unit — part of which "pre-edits" extremely important UN documents — was partly organized, headed and partly staffed by a Pole named Adam Tarn who performed a remarkable series of political leaps within and away from our country. During World War II, Mr. Tarn was employed by the U. S. Office of War Information. On February 10, 1947, he joined the UN Secretariat, and remained in it long enough to set up the Documents Control unit. On May 21, 1949, he left the Secretariat in order to jump over into the Communist Polish Delegation to the UN, of which he was a member for nearly two years. Adam Tarn then went to Soviet Poland, where he recently wrote a play about the UN Secretariat with a hate-America theme.

Six months after Tarn went to the UN Documents control, Mr. Frank C. Bancroft became one of its editors. Mr. Bancroft is a self-styled "inactive" Episcopal minister who on February 12,

1941, sponsored the People's Institute of Applied Religion which the House Committee on Un-American Activities called "one of the most vicious Communist organizations ever set up in this country." In 1938, Frank C. Bancroft was editor of *Social Work Today*, concerning which the Committee on Un-American Activities declared: "A study of the contents and policies of this magazine indicates that it is primarily a vehicle whereby the line of the Communist Party is promulgated among social workers." On October 13, 1952, however, UN editor Bancroft refused on privilege of the Fifth Amendment to answer any questions about his association with *Social Work Today*.

Mrs. Julia Older Bazer — a colleague of Tarn's and Bancroft's in the UN Documents Control Division — is another American member of the leap-frog team. Some of the jumps she made during 1938-1945 in U. S. Government agencies were from the Department of Agriculture over to the Coordinator of Information and then over to the Office of War Information. While she was with the COI, Mrs. Older (as she prefers to be called) was suspended "on suspicions and charges" which had "something to do with taking documents home or out of the files or something like that." In 1943, according to her sworn testimony, Mrs. Older was "cleared and reinstated with the Office of War Information." Employed in the UN Secretariat at approximately \$9100 a year, Mrs. Older testified that she had "pre-edited" UN material under Mr. Tarn's directorship; but she refused under privilege of the Fifth Amendment to say whether or not she ever was or is now a member of the Communist Party.

One of the most aggressive witnesses at the Senate subcommittee hearings in October was Mr. Herbert Schimmel, a UN Economic Affairs officer working at \$9100 a year under the directorship of Mr. David Weintraub.<sup>2</sup> During the period 1936-1941, Mr. Schimmel jumped into and out of such U. S. government agencies as the National Research Project of the WPA and the House Committee Investigating Defense Migration. In 1946, he was administrative assistant to Senator Harley Martin Kilgore, who is — according to the *American Mercury* of October 1952 — "the favorite senator of the *Daily Worker*."

The refusal of Mr. Schimmel and other American members of the UN Secretariat to answer questions on privilege of the Fifth Amendment at the Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings of October 14, apparently prompted acting chairman Senator O'Connor's charge that "American traitors are actively identified with the United Nations." Senator O'Connor declared that confidence in the international organization is being destroyed because "It is very evident to this committee that the United Nations is honeycombed with individuals who are afraid to testify unequivocally whether

or not they are members of the Communist Party which is dedicated to the overthrow of this government."

According to an article by Judith Crist in the *New York Herald Tribune*, October 15, 1952, Senator O'Connor declared that the American public is going to learn about "the shocking UN situation through their legislative representatives" and that "unquestionably the matter will be presented to the Senate for proper legislative action." When Mr. Schimmel left the witness stand, Senator O'Connor said: "We're not through with you by a long sight, Mr. Schimmel. I can assure you of that."

## This Is What They Said

It has appeared to me that there is a definite liberal group among the [Chinese] Communists . . . men who would put the interest of the Chinese people above ruthless measures to establish a Communist ideology in the immediate future.

GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, January 7, 1947

Russia's first aim is to free her own territory, and the second aim is to free the enslaved peoples of Europe and then allow them to decide their own fate without any outside interference in their internal affairs.

JOSEPH STALIN, November 6, 1941

Communism is more of an economic than a political system really.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, radio program, February 20, 1951

If Senator McCarthy's information is so fragile, so shot full of hearsay and suspicion because of association that it falls apart, then it will be a boom-crang that will hit him pretty hard at a time when he is running hard for reelection this fall [1950].

BERT ANDREWS, *New York Herald Tribune*, February 26, 1950

### The Shifting Sands

Show me the kind of steps a man made in the sand five years ago and I will show you the kind of steps he is likely to make in the same sand five years hence.

HUGO L. BLACK, when Senator, February 19, 1930

I did join the [Ku Klux] Klan. I later resigned. I never rejoined. . . . Before becoming a Senator I dropped the Klan.

HUGO L. BLACK, when Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, October 1, 1937

<sup>2</sup>See the *Freeman*, October 20 and November 3.

# The UN's Welfare Czar

By ALICE WIDENER

In this fourth article of a series on the UN, the author reveals that its program of aid to underdeveloped countries has, with the aid of the U. S. delegation, been placed under the dictatorial authority of an official in whose UN division there has been an alarming infiltration of American Communists.

On November 15, 1952, Dr. Benjamin Cohen, a Chilean who is Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations Department of Public Information declared:

Political problems have overshadowed United Nations publicity, but the most important work done by the United Nations itself is truly to be found in the field of economic and social problems, and in the freedom and progress of non-selfgoverning peoples.

This important statement presents in a nutshell the basic fact about the United Nations today: The Korean War has made it clear that the organization is unable to carry out its primary original purpose of maintaining and promoting peace; therefore the UN has been forced to shift its main activities away from political planning and over to planning for economic-social welfare.

A month after the war started, the UN adopted a multi-million dollar Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for Underprivileged Nations and set up a Technical Assistance Board to coordinate it. However, no official body of the UN has even given a clear definition of the term "underdeveloped." The United States has paid 60 per cent of the \$39 million already contributed for the Expanded Program; the Soviet Union pays nothing. At the New York Herald Tribune Forum, October 1952, UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie advocated a billion-dollar yearly budget for the UN program of economic development.

The voting members of the Tech-

now: a representative from the UN Technical Assistance Administration and representatives of five specialized international agencies — the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization. In addition, non-voting observers from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were invited to attend meetings of the Technical Assistance Board and to cooperate with its work. Also in July 1950, UN Secretary-General Lie asked David Owen, a British subject who is Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the UN Department of Economic Affairs, to serve as acting chairman of the Technical Assistant Board.

This executive body was obliged by Resolution 222A (IX) of the UN Economic and Social Council to reach all decisions on the basis of unanimity. In other words, the Board was prevented from taking any action for aid to underdeveloped nations without the unanimous consent of its members. Thus the Board—like the UN Security Council—was hamstrung from the beginning by an undemocratic voting procedure based on an absolutist theory originally forced on the UN by the Soviet Union.

### Unanimous Disagreement

After less than a year, it became plain to everyone concerned with the Expanded Program that rivalry, jealousy and differences of opinion among the agencies belonging to the Technical Assistance Board prevented it from reaching important decisions unanimously. Thus the Board found it virtually impossible to function, and most of the funds for the Expanded Program remained unspent. It therefore became neces-

Council to revise the Board's voting procedure and improve its executive set-up. The Secretary-General's Administrative Coordinating Committee suggested to the Economic and Social Council's standing Technical Assistance Committee that it establish a "Working Party" to examine the situation and make a report.

On May 22-23, 1952, the Technical Assistance Committee met to discuss the Working Party Report. Several of its recommendations were adopted without much discussion, but some of them caused a heated debate in which eight nations—China, Cuba, Egypt, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines and Uruguay—were opposed by France, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. In all the complicated history of the UN debating society, no other discussion better illustrates what are some of the real dangers to freedom in the UN, and how weak, socialist-minded American leadership in that organization has intensified these dangers.

### Power Without Stint or Limit

The first objection raised by the eight dissenting nations concerned a proposal to give the UN Technical Assistance Board a powerful full-time Executive Chairman *without setting a time limit on his tenure of office.*

Cuba, under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Perez Cisneros, advocated the wise provision: "The appointment [of the Executive Chairman] shall be for a term of . . . years. An incumbent may be re-appointed." This was strongly supported by seven other countries. But Isador Lubin, a member of the U. S. Mission to the UN, who has contributed to Socialist publications, stated that in the opinion of the U. S. Delegation the Chairman's term of office should be fixed by Secretary-General Lie who "presumably" would consult with the heads of the specialized agencies concerning suitable candidates and other matters. According to the official *rapporteur* (UN Document E/TAC/Sr. 23) Mr. Lubin said that "while he could not recall a particular example, there were undoubtedly precedents for creating posts without specifying the term of office."

A second objection raised by the eight dissenting nations concerned the first sentence of a paragraph dealing with the proposed voting procedure for the Technical Assistance Board:

Decisions relative to recommendations or proposals of the Executive Chairman or made by members of the Board will normally be taken by general agreement between the Executive Chairman and all members of the Board.

Mr. Cisneros immediately pointed out: "This sentence is both a statement of fact and the expression of a wish."

A third and even more serious objection concerned the following paragraph:

When general agreement can not be reached, recommendations or proposals shall be considered approved when a majority of the members of the Board present and voting and the Executive Chairman are in agreement. If no agreement can be reached, the matter may be referred to the Technical Assistance Committee either by a majority of the members of the Board present and voting or by the Executive Chairman.

This arrangement was variously denounced by Mr. Fabregat of Uruguay, Mr. Cha of China, Mr. Hasan of Pakistan, Mr. Garcia of the Philippines, Mr. Abdoh of Iran, Mr. Pharaony of Egypt and Mr. Gorostiza of Mexico as giving the Chairman such extensive powers that "He would be in a position to take arbitrary action and to supplant the Board itself"; also as granting the Chairman "powers without limitations."

Apparently inspired by American leadership, the French, Canadian and British representatives in the Technical Assistance Committee tried to overcome all opposition. A delegate from one of the eight objecting nations recently told this writer: "Holding on for dear life to the principles of freedom and democratic procedure, we eight small nations were struggling in high seas. But the United States delegation kept on pushing our heads under the water."

Handicapped, the eight nations finally agreed to endorse a Technical Assistance Committee report embodying recommendations to the

reserved their right to present to it strong objections to those provisions relating to the powers of the Executive Chairman and the voting procedure of the TAB.

A former executive vice-president of a great American international business corporation has carefully examined the debated provisions and commented as follows: "It can be interpreted that the Executive Chairman has the power—in reporting to the Technical Assistance Committee—to ignore the Board. A complete analysis of this thing would require some pretty good legal talent. But the over-all impression is that the language is in such general terms that it doesn't make the Chairman's consultation with the Board mandatory. In American business, under the balance of power system, a majority of the Board can overrule the Chairman. The document talks about 'members present and voting' but doesn't say anything about a quorum. In the absence of a quorum, do decisions go by default to the Chairman? The whole matter of arriving at decisions through democratic process is involved. Under certain interpretations of this document, the powers of the Chairman would appear to be excessive."

### Mr. Lie Jumps the Gun

A meeting of the Economic and Social Council was scheduled to be held on Wednesday June 11, 1952 at 10:30 A.M. to discuss the Technical Assistance Committee report on the reorganization of the Technical Assistance Board and the proposed functions of its Executive Chairman. But on June 10, to the consternation of the dissenting nations, there appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* a report by its UN correspondent, Thomas J. Hamilton:

David Owen, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations for Economic Affairs, has accepted appointment as Executive Chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. [Italics added.]

Thus the eight nations learned that instead of debating a proposal on the morrow, they would merely be discussing a *fait accompli*. Immediately, some of them let their outraged feelings be known to the

When the Economic and Social Council met the next morning, the Chairman of the Technical Assistance Committee—Mr. de Seynes of France—opened the discussion with a statement that the appointment of a full-time Executive Chairman for the Technical Assistance Board would strengthen the whole set-up of the Expanded Program. He said he wished to stress that point "particularly because a certain newspaper, normally exceptionally accurate in its presentation of news, had the previous day published an article referring to decisions which had not yet been made and adopted by the Council, including comments on the relationship between the Chairman of the Board and the representatives of the specialized agencies, which were quite fantastic and unworthy of a journalist accredited to the United Nations."

This bitter attack on Mr. Hamilton was virtually unprecedented in the annals of the UN. Possibly it was justified, but there is almost incontrovertible evidence to the contrary. The official *United Nations Bulletin* of June 15 carries on its first page the heading "A Fortnightly Review" under which is the bracketed statement: "Covering the period May 30 to June 9." Paragraph three, under the caption "New TAB Chairman," states:

The growing importance and complexity of technical assistance activities has resulted in an interesting development on June 11, the appointment of a full-time chairman of the Technical Assistance Board. . . . To this position, the Secretary-General [Trygve Lie] has appointed Mr. David Owen . . .

Thus—when covering the period May 30 to June 9, 1952—the *United Nations Bulletin* editors announce a major decision by the Economic and Social Council supposedly arrived at on June 11.

Further evidence of Mr. Hamilton's accuracy is revealed in the Economic and Social Council's official record. For immediately after having attacked him, Chairman de Seynes ceded the floor to Mr. Hill of the UN Secretariat who speaking for Trygve Lie, made what in the circumstances sounded like a *post factum* proposal for Mr. Owen's appointment, explaining that it had



been unanimously agreed "that the best person for the task of Executive Chairman for the Technical Assistance Board was Mr. Owen." Mr. Hill then quoted Mr. Lie as saying: "I would not at this time propose to set any term to this arrangement."

Thus the eight dissenting nations were put in a position which one of their representatives has described as follows: "There is an enormous difference between discussing impersonally the powers of a vacant Chair, and discussing on a highly embarrassing personal basis a Chair with a man sitting on it. This is especially true in a case where the sitter happens to be a close associate and high-ranking official of an international body to which the debaters belong."

That the point was well taken is proved by the remark of Mr. Woulbroun, the Belgian representative, at the meeting of June 11, that Cuba's proposed time limit on the Executive Chairman's tenure of office "might give the impression that the Council did not have full confidence in the Executive Chairman."

### A Chairman—and a Record

When the Council reconvened on the afternoon of June 11, there was little the eight dissenting members of the Technical Assistance Committee could do except diplomatically to congratulate Mr. David Owen and to reiterate their objections to dictatorial powers as a matter of principle "in the United Nations or anywhere else." Mr. Fabregat of Uruguay said:

The powers vested in the Executive Chairman would amount to a veto. Criticism of that procedure had been raised in connection with other United Nations organs and he saw no reason for extending such a manifestly unsatisfactory arrangement.

Despite this, Mr. Owen's appointment was confirmed; the Executive Chairman's tenure of office without limit was adopted by 8 votes to 3, with 7 abstentions; the voting procedure for the Board was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 7 abstentions. Then the whole matter was incorporated into an Economic and Social Council Report which, as this is written, is under consideration

sembly. On pages 50 and 51 of this Report there is a summary of the legal documents involved, which reliable sources have said is misleading and inaccurate. Interested members of the Assembly might do well to compare the summary with the legal documents.

On November 12, 1952, according to the *New York Times*, David Owen reported to the Assembly that:

United Nations technical assistance programs list 956 experts at work in more than sixty countries. . . .

In addition to sending experts abroad, the United Nations, under its fellowship programs, is training 869 leaders from fifty countries in the institutes and agencies of forty-five countries, Mr. Owen said. . . . he noted that the world organization had recruited 1,598 experts from an enormous range of countries and had provided fellowship training for 2,697 professional men and women.

This represents "a great cross-fertilization of the technical ideas and skills of the world," Mr. Owen said. . . . Requests for 1953 will total about \$38,000,000, he continued. . . .

In view of Mr. Owen's record during 1946-1952 as head of UN Economic Affairs—during which time a hard core of alleged pro-Communists, Communists and/or espionage agents penetrated his department and held important positions within it, Americans should watch closely the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

Delegates to the current General Assembly have expressed stern criticism of it. Mrs. Lindstrom (Sweden) said her delegation "did not believe that the Technical Assistance Board was using the most efficient and rational methods in the selection of experts." It also appeared, she said, that social affairs experts were recruited "on the basis of personal interviews" and not on the basis of consultation with governments.

In this connection it might be remembered that David Owen sent Owen Lattimore to Afghanistan as Chief of the UN Technical Assistance Mission in 1950 partly on the basis of a personal interview at a UN luncheon.

Mr. Lee of China asked what is really holding up the rapid economic progress which the underdeveloped nations desire, and said: "The an-

swer is . . . well understood by the common man. It is the threat of Communist aggression and infiltration."

Mr. Abdullah Baqr (Iraq) said: "It is regrettable that some of the most responsible officials of those administering technical assistance in the United Nations are being influenced in their judgments by preconceived ideas."

### A Potential Red Network

A former high official of the U. S. government, who rendered invaluable service to our country in World Wars I and II, has studied the major documents relating to the UN Technical Assistance Board and has stated:

They raise the question as to what the position of the free world would be if the Executive Chairman were to fall under the control of subversive elements, or, if key positions in his organization, with or without his knowledge and acquiescence, should be occupied by Communists.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee, with the aid of the able legal counsel of Mr. Robert Morris, called to the witness stand a number of American citizens occupying key positions under David Owen. Practically all of them refused to answer whether they have been or are members of the Communist Party on the grounds of self-incrimination.

A man who is surrounded by alleged Communists or pro-Communists in key positions in his organization and either does not know it or does not recognize the hazard, is no man to entrust with exceptional powers and vast sums of money and with the power to select technical personnel and send missions with diplomatic immunity to all countries of the world.

In line with his present duties, David Owen holds regular monthly meetings with the Director-General of the UN Technical Assistance Administration, the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. According to informed sources, this last organization apparently has been and is now seriously infiltrated with American subversive elements. For example, its Secretary, Frank V. Coe, is described in the Senate Judiciary Committee report on the Institute of Pacific Relations as having "collab-

orated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony" and as having been "identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses."

Several logical conclusions may be drawn from consideration of the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, and from the present set-up of the Technical Assistance Board under Mr. Owen's Executive Chairmanship. *First:* Under no circumstances should the new Congress consent to the integration of the U. S. Point Four Program with the

UN's Technical Assistance Program, as the late General Counsel of the UN, Dr. Abraham H. Feller, and prominent Truman Administration leaders have advised. *Second:* Since the U. S. puts up 60 per cent of the money for the UN's program, the U. S. Delegation should urge the General Assembly to reexamine the matter of Mr. Owen's chairmanship and the powers of the Technical Assistance Board. *Third:* Congress should continue the investigation of American personnel in the UN Secretariat begun by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

conversation: it is at once initiation into an inheritance in which we have a life interest, and the exploration of its intimations.

Now American readers familiar with some of the less formal disquisitions on political theory in Britain will at least think they recognize overtones there. They seem to hear a modern restatement of something very much like Edmund Burke's idea of the body politic as precisely that—a body, an organism, in which the past and the present and intimations of the future are all together in one "great mysterious incorporation of the human race. . . ."

This incorporation, moreover, is not invented, it has grown out of man's nature. It can not be invented; it must grow out of nature and tradition. Burke warned that:

All your sophisters can not produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we (the English) have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories of our rights and privileges.

This is from the passage in "The French Revolution" which, perhaps as well as any other, summarizes Burke. It will turn the American reader to the Oakeshott essay which seems, as much as any, to buttress, complement and clarify the sometimes understated and frequently overcompressed text of the Oakeshott Inaugural Lecture. This essay is the two-part discussion called "Rationalism in Politics" which Professor Oakeshott published in the *Cambridge Journal* of November and December 1947.

### On Political Knowledge

In this compelling paper, he broke political knowledge into two categories. "The first sort of knowledge I will call technical knowledge, the knowledge of technique. . . . It is possible to write down technical knowledge in a book. . . ." The technical knowledge of politics written down in a book becomes an ideology.

The second sort of knowledge, I call practical because it exists in practice, is not reflective.

## Harold Laski's Successor

By C. P. IVES

On March 6, 1951, Professor Michael Oakeshott delivered his inaugural lecture at the School of Economics and Political Science of the University of London (LSE) as successor to Harold J. Laski in the chair of political science. At once a high peak of agony and of anger rang out from one of the great pundits of the British left and in the famous journal where the Marxoid punditry of Britain officially cerebrates, the pundit was the redoubtable Richard H. S. Crossman, the journal was the *New Statesman and Nation*; and both Mr. Crossman and his paper had a point.

For had the managers of the School searched the whole wide world for a man polar to Laski in temperament, in teaching, in instinct and sympathy (which perhaps they did) they could not have found one better fitting the specifications. In calling Mr. Oakeshott (he had been lecturer in history in the University of Cambridge) they seemed to be doing their best to proclaim the end of the age of Laski at the LSE.

In this way the appointment of Mr. Oakeshott has a meaning not merely for the British academic community but for English-speaking

of the most influential academic posts in the English-speaking world. In his early days Laski was a liberal and a pluralist and not even in the time of his maturity was he a Stalinist. But from the London School of Economics both *ex cathedra* and in incessant missionary forays Laski acted for many years as Marxoid evangel-in-chief to all the lands where "Capital" is read in English.

But if the new professor of political science at the London School of Economics is unlike Laski and if the unlikeness earns the disapprobation of Laski's admirers, what kind of man is the new professor, and what kind of politics does he teach?

Mr. Oakeshott's inaugural lecture was, quite appropriately, on "Political Education." Perhaps the core paragraph in the lecture, and possibly the one that offended the Laskites most was this:

What has to be learned (in political education) is not an abstract idea, of a set of tricks, not even a ritual, but a concrete, coherent manner of living in all its intricateness. It is clear, then, that we must not entertain the hope of acquiring this difficult understanding by easy methods. Though the knowledge we seek is municipal, not universal, there is no short cut to it. Moreover, political

2-10-54

ABEOT LOW MONTAT submitted letter of recommendation for ALGER HISS in 1947  
in connection with membership to the Harvard Club, NYC.

138-2493-6

### RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

During the course of a previous investigation in another matter conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1949,

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ advised from records at his disposal that at the time ALGER HISS made application for membership in the Harvard Club in April 1947, ABBOTT LOW MOFFAT, Chief, Division of Southeast, Asian Affairs, Department of State, 13705 33rd Place, Northwest, Washington, D.C., wrote a letter recommending HISS.

The "New York Times" newspaper of August 3, 1948, page 1, column 1, in an article entitled "Red Underground in Federal Positions Alleged by Editor" it sets forth that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 2, 1948, described ALGER HISS as a member of a Communist "underground" operating in Washington, D.C. in the 1930's.

ALGER HISS was convicted of perjury in the Southern District of New York on January 21, 1950 in that he denied contact subsequent to January 1, 1937 with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, a self-confessed former Russian espionage agent, and also denied furnishing originals or copies of confidential State Department documents to CHAMBERS.

138-2493-6

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

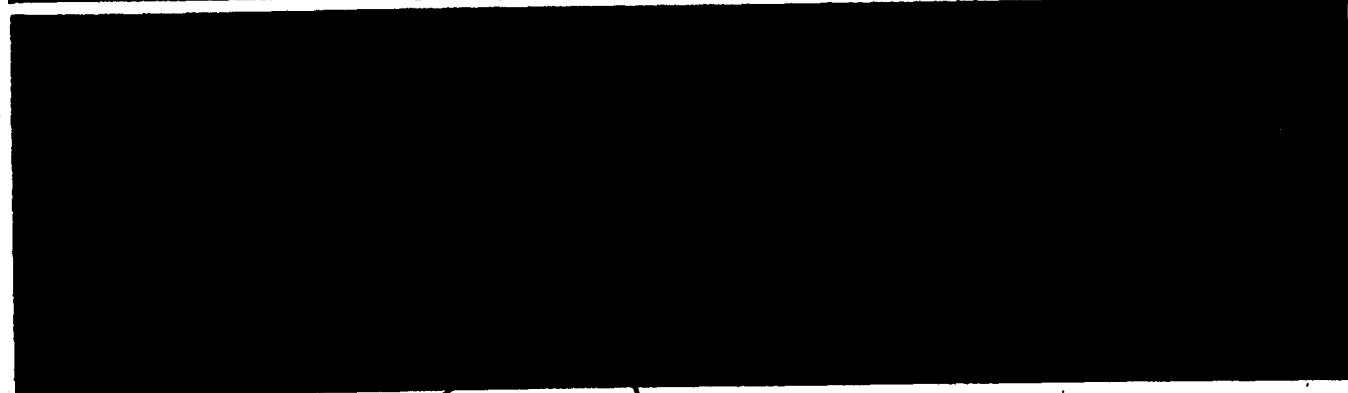
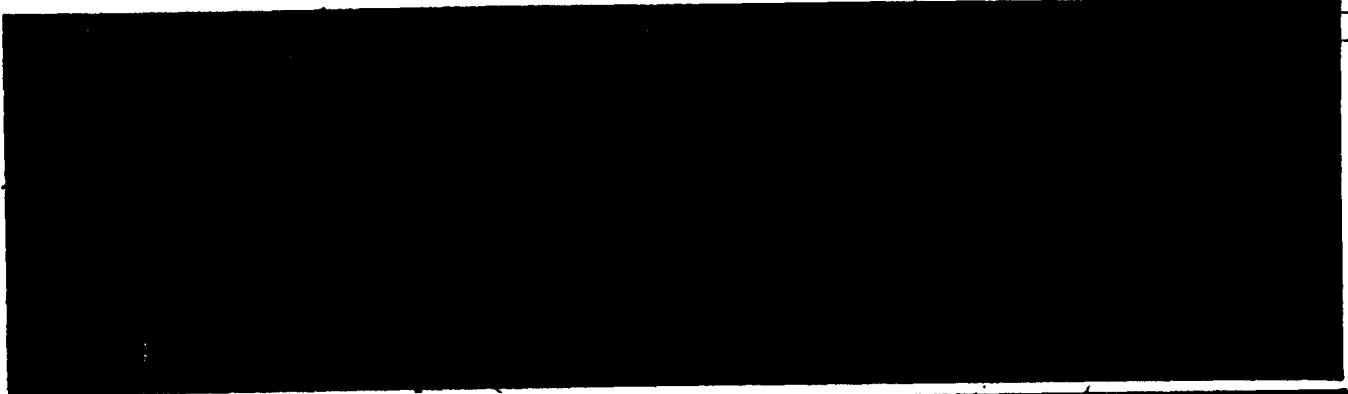
TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

DATE: September 14, 1950

FROM : C. H. Stanley

SUBJECT: HERBERT FEIS  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Member, Policy Planning Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_



(4) In 1946 Virginius Frank Coe was in correspondence with the residence which was identified as being the home of Feis. Coe was named by Jay David Whittaker Chambers as being a member of a Communist underground group in Washington, D. C.

*td* (5) Feis has admitted knowing Alger Hiss and his wife since 1933. He stated this association was on a business basis.

121-23982

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Attachment

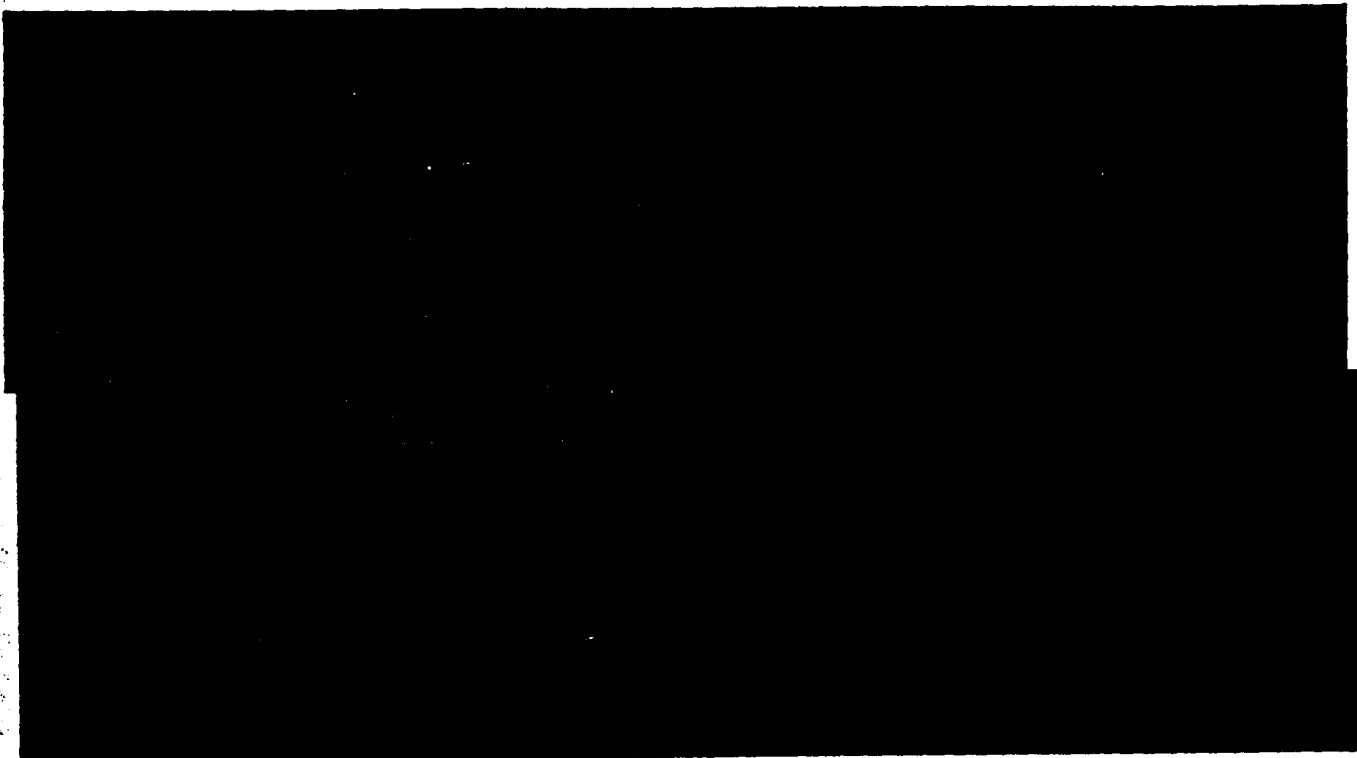
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INDEXED - 50

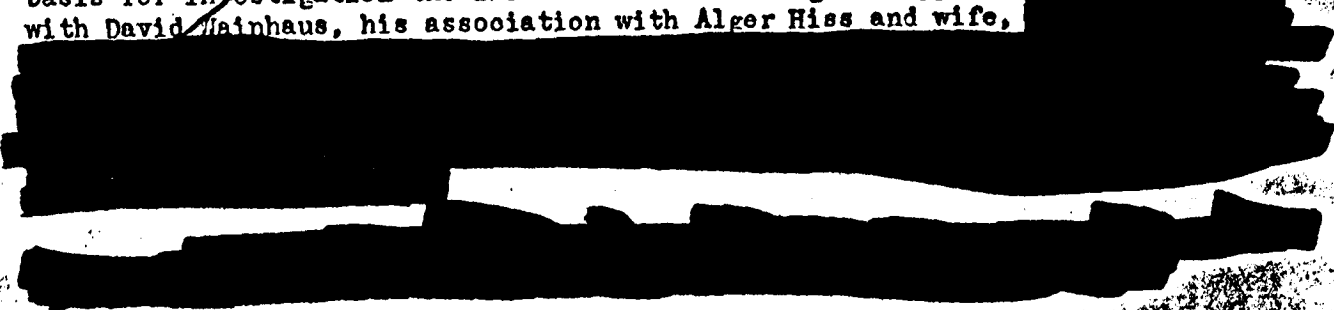
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(3) that the Washington Field Office be instructed to use as its basis for investigation the information concerning the appointee's association with David Mainhaus, his association with Alger Hiss and wife,



There is attached a suggested letter to the Washington Field Office incorporating these instructions.

- 2 - *DN* 121-23982-6

SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

September 14, 1950

Director, FBI

HERBERT FEIS  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Member, Policy Planning Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

*24*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Utilize as the basis for this investigation the following:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(3) His association with Alger Hiss.

*m*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

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COMM - FBI

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Report of Special Agent PAUL R. ALKER dated January 31, 1949 at Newark entitled "J. DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, was., et al; PERJURY; ESPIONAGE - R; INTERNAL SECURITY - R" reflects that HERBERT FEIS, Economist, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey stated that he had first met ALGER HISS about 1933 and Mrs. PRISCILLA HISS a few years later.

The report continued that FEIS' association with ALGER HISS had been on a friendly and cordial business basis primarily and that he and his wife were only casually associated with ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS. Also, according to FEIS, he had visited in two of ALGER HISS' residences in Washington, D.C.; further, that he and his wife had a warm personal friendship with DONALD and CATHERINE HISS, ALGER'S brother and sister-in-law.

In this same report, Mrs. RUTH FEIS, wife of Dr. FEIS, advised that with the exception of several handwritten notes which she had received from CATHERINE HISS, wife of DONALD HISS, she had never received any other communications from either ALGER or any member of his family.

121-23982-11



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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. 121-15234

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/10/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/7, 8, 12, 19, 20, 22, 26-29; 10/2, 3/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>WILLIAM D. TEMPLE WDT:ARM</b>
TITLE <b>HERBERT FEIS aka HERBERT FEIST Foreign Affairs Specialist Member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, Washington, D. C.</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>[REDACTED]</b>	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <b>[REDACTED]</b>			

reported association of FEIS with DAVID WAINHOUSE aka WAINHAUS, ALGER HISS and VIRGINIUS FRANK COE; <sup>basis is</sup>

DO NOT WRITE SIDE FOR  
FOR DISSEMINATION

- R U C -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES OF THIS REPORT: **2** Bureau, **1** Washington Field

RECEIVED: **OCT 11 1950**

RECORDED - 64

INDEXED - 64

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
FOR DISSEMINATION

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10/10/50

BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

[REDACTED]

In 1949, in connection with another investigation, Dr. HERBERT FOIS, when interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, furnished information to the effect that he had formerly been employed by the State Department as an Economist and that he first met ALGER HISS about 1933. He

*Rel*

121-23982-23

10/10/50

also stated that his association with ALGER HISS was friendly and cordial on a business basis mainly, since about 1935, and that he had visited in two of ALGER HISS's residences in Washington, D. C. Dr. FEIS stated that he and his wife were only casually associated with ALGER HISS and his wife, PRISCILLA HISS.

MVS

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS has advised and has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that ALGER HISS was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and the early 1940's; and that HISS made available information which he (HISS) was aware would be furnished to the Soviets, and further that HISS was a member of a Communist Party group in Washington during the late 1930's.

[REDACTED]

VIRGINIUS FRANK JOE was named by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in September, 1939, as a member of the Communist underground group in the District of Columbia, and was later identified by ELIZABETH BENTLEY as a member of a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., and New York City.

[REDACTED]

121-23982-23

3-8-57

C

C

H 1

*rel* Investigation requested by NYC T-1,  
on basis of information from NYC T-2  
that employee stated she

I 1

*V.L* able to ALGER HISS, ... was favor-

A

121-25564-7

I

I

T-2 stated that she had discussed with [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the case of ALGER HISS, who was recently convicted of

121-25564-7

perjury in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for denying that he was acquainted with a self-confessed Communist agent, and told the employee that in her opinion, ALGER HISS' own testimony had been unconvincing. The informant said that the employee told her that-"You lean too far forward on this Communist business. Why, it's even taught in the schools. They taught me when I was in school." The informant could recall no further pertinent portions of this conversation.

121-25564-7

INVENTORY WORKSHEET

DATE March 1977

RE: Alger Hiss

FILE NO: See References

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
118-5542-9	12/5/49	WFO Report	24	2	N.P.
62-78774-58	2/24/51	New York Report	9	1	N.P.
62-84466-7	3/28/49	Memo Jones to Nichols	35	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
121-8159-2	5/27/48	Memo Ladd to the Director	1	1	N.P.
121-8159-3	6/14/48	WFO Letter	2	1	N.P.
121-8159-7	9/2/48	Memo Key to Fletcher	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
121-8159-7X	9/13/48	Letter to the Attorney General from the Director, FBI	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
121-8159-24	11/23/48	WFO Report	20	4	N.P. (b)(2)
101-1298-23	1/15/54	WFO Letter	14	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
101-1298-29	1/22/54	New York Report	36	4	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
			143	19	

12/5/49

WFO 118-5362

ADMINISTRATIVE SHEET

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

. This information is placed on the Administrative Sheet, as it concerns SAVOY's knowledge of ALGER HISS and also because the information was submitted in an administrative report of Special Agent HOLLIS W. BOWERS dated November 9, 1949, at Washington, D. C.

[REDACTED]

118-5542-9



12/5/49

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent LAMBERT G. ZANDER dated January 31, 1949, at Washington, D. C., entitled "JAY DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, was., et al; PERJURY; ESPIONAGE - R; INTERNAL SECURITY - R".

PREV SAVOY was interviewed on January 14, 1949, at which time he advised that he applied for a position with the Department of Agriculture through JEROME FRANK who advised him that if LEE PRESSMAN and ALGER HISS approved, he would get the job. SAVOY advised in July, 1933, that both approved, and from August, 1933, to January 1, 1937, he was in close contact with ALGER HISS both socially and otherwise. He advised that he worked with HISS and PRESSMAN everyday from approximately eight in the morning to midnight during the years 1933 through 1936. He advised that on January 6, 1936, the Agricultural Act was declared unconstitutional, and his relationship with PRESSMAN and HISS ceased at this time. He advised he did not see HISS to speak of again until approximately 1945. SAVOY stated that he was surprised when he read of the charges against HISS and stated if HISS was guilty of the charges, he SAVOY had lost his ability to judge an individual. He stated he recalled nothing whatsoever during the time he knew HISS intimately which would indicate Communistic leanings. He stated it was general true in those days if an individual wanted to get anywhere in the Government, it was customary to be slightly pro-Soviet. He advised that he had no knowledge of anything which would reflect on the loyalty of ALGER HISS.

118-5542-9

2-24-51

LAWRENCE DUGAN, former Chief of the Latin American Division of the State Department, who fell or jumped out of a New York City office room on December 20, 1948, was reported by HEDE MASSING, divorced wife of GERHARDT ~~EISLER~~, to be one of the State Department employees whom she was trying to recruit for Russian espionage. DUGAN was, according to her, a close associate of ALGER ~~X~~ HISS.

62-78774-58

3/28/49

6) Relations With Alger Hiss

An informant [redacted] advised the Bureau that he had been informed, in connection with Alger Hiss' s association with the Carnegie Institute for International Peace, that someone in the State Department had advised Dulles of the questionable background of Hiss and that Dulles had scoffed at the report, saying that he had enjoyed a favorable relationship with Hiss, particularly in Paris. According to the allegation Dulles was said to have expressed his faith in and reliance on Hiss. The informant further observed that the position which Hiss occupies (1) in the Carnegie Institute under Dulles and (2) in the estimation of Dulles, placed him in line to exert influence in foreign affairs of the U. S. The informant also referred to the potentiality of Dulles being selected as Secretary of State in the event of a Republican Victory in 1948. He said that in the event Hiss was still held in such high estimation by Dulles that Hiss might be able to "worm himself back into the Department of State." (101-2668-30)

62-84466-7

On August 5, 1948, Mr. Gus Vansch (Department of Justice) contacted Assistant Director D. N. Ladd and stated he desired to ascertain who had assisted Alger Hiss in obtaining an appointment with Carnegie Institute. He stated that he thought Hiss had received support from John Foster Dulles. Ladd suggested that Vansch should check at the State Department to see what their records might show.

3/28/49

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

inasmuch as Mr. Ladd did not know whether or not the FBI had any contact at Carnegie Institute. Mr. Ladd later noticed an article in the Washington Evening Star on August 5, 1948, which indicated that Hiss had testified that Dulles gave him assistance. The article headlined "Hiss Declares Dulles helped him to get Carnegie Peace Post" pointed out that Alger Hiss in testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated on August 5, 1948, that John Foster Dulles helped him obtain his present position as President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Under questioning, Hiss said Dulles first approached him about the position. Dulles, according to the article, is chairman of the Carnegie Board of Trustees. (101-2668-33)

Drew Pearson in his column "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," Washington Post, September 15, 1948, reflected that Governor Dewey had "received some firm but friendly advice from high-up Republicans to think twice before he appoints John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State." The article pointed out that the opposition to Dulles was partly on the ground that he was "one of Wall Street's most prominent lawyers" and partly because "of the disastrous role Dulles played in selling the American public on the now defaulted German bonds prior to 1938 when leading American economists were warning that they would be worthless paper." Pearson said that Senator Styles Bridges (N.H.), Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee, had cautioned Dewey about Dulles. Bridges raised a new objection, "namely Dulles' recommendation of Alger Hiss, alleged Communist, to be President of the Carnegie Peace Foundation. The Directors of the Foundation, Bridges recalled, were lukewarm about Hiss but were pressured into the appointment by Dulles." Bridges also reminded Dewey, according to Pearson, that Dulles might have difficulty in being confirmed by the Senate. (94-8sub 350-A)

62-84466-7

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 27, 1948

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: *hb* [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

[REDACTED]

Our files revealed that employee had been contacted by Alger Hiss, a subject in the Gregory case, and further that one Lynn White of Mills College, Oakland, California, who apparently was a friend of N. S. Vavilov of the Russian Embassy, while in Washington, D. C. recently, contacted Rusk and also contacted Alger Hiss.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PNC:ary and

*45*

MAILED 18  
JUL 18 1948

RECORDED - 55

INDEXED - 55

129-8159-2  
F B I  
3 JUL 18 1948

MAY 31 5 02 PM '48

59 JUL 22 1948

RECEIVED - FBI

*Quinn*

*EAR*

G.I.R.-7

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD  
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

DATE: June 14, 1948

*HW*  
*R*

[REDACTED]

The files in the Washington Field Office do not reveal the nature or extent of the relationship between employee and ALGER HISS, one of the subjects in the case entitled, "NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, was, et al; ESPIONAGE - R", WFO file 100-17493. There is not sufficient information in the WFO files to establish the extent or nature of the relationship between LYNN WHITE, President of Mills College in California, and ALGER HISS;

[REDACTED]

*21 R 72*

KFJ:EKT  
121-4546

RECORDED - 7  
INDEXED - 7

121-8159-2  
26 JUL 13 1948

EX-27

59 JUL 22 1948

*SIR*

9-2-48

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ stated that a confidential source had indicated to him that if ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ was presently of the opinion that Alger Hiss, a subject in the Silvermaster case, was guilty of present charges lodged against him by the House Un-American Activities Committee, that ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ would no doubt release considerable information concerning Rusk. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ added that ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ was Alger Hiss' assistant when Hiss was employed by the State Department.

121-8159-7

9/13/48

The files of this Bureau reflect that captioned individual has in the past been known to be in contact with Alger Hiss, a subject in the Gregory Case. The extent or significance of the relationship between Hiss and employee are unknown. It is to be noted, however, that employee presently holds the position in the State Department formerly occupied by Hiss prior to the latter's resignation to become president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In this connection ██████████ was in Washington, D. C., in January, 1947, where he is known to have attempted to contact Alger Hiss.

The extent and significance of contacts between ██████████ and employee, ██████████ and Hiss, are unknown.

121-8159-7X



11/23/48

II. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

Washington T-1, an informant of known reliability who declined to furnish a signed statement or testify at a loyalty board hearing, advised that in March, 1947, ALGER HISS contacted DEAN RUSK and had lunch with him. The informant advised that HISS and RUSK appeared to him to be well acquainted. However, the informant advised he did not know the nature of their acquaintanceship.

Washington T-2, an informant of known reliability who is a former member of the Communist Party, advised that ALGER HISS was a member of the CP underground in Washington, D. C. in the early 1930's. This informant declined to testify at a loyalty board hearing or to furnish a signed statement.

Handwritten notes in left margin: "see serial 6-78"

Overline

III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Washington T-1 and Washington T-2, mentioned above, were recontacted in connection with this investigation and stated they could furnish no additional information concerning employee or ALGER HISS.

121-8159-24

11/23/48

4 see State

confidential informant states that on one occasion HUSK<sup>A</sup> was +  
contacted by ALGER HISS.

121-8159-24

11/23/48

ALGER HISS was formerly employed by the State Department and was Secretary General of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in April, 1945. He left the State Department in January, 1947 and is presently the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

121-8159-24

11/23/48

WFO 121-4546

INFORMANTS

[REDACTED]

T-2

WHITAKER CHAMBERS, whose identity is known to the Bureau

[REDACTED]

1/15/59

advised that he drove ALGER HISS to the Capitol a number of times and also to the White House. [REDACTED] stated that he knew very little of ALGER HISS's close associates but believed that one TELFORD TAYLOR worked rather closely with HISS. The above information is located in WFO file 74-94-1582.

Information in WFO files regarding the interview with TAYLOR in regard to his knowledge of ALGER HISS is not being set forth in this letter since the New York Office is in possession of this information.

101-1298-23

1/15/54

In applying for a position with the Department of Justice in 1944, TIMBERG gave as a reference ALGER HISS.

101-1298-23

FEDERAL

BURO OF INVESTIGATION

ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK

FILE NO.

81

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>1/22/54</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1/11-15, 18-21/54</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>ARTHUR K. HENDRIX</b>
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TITLE <b>TELFORD TAYLOR</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>(4) 94803</b>
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SUMMARY REPORT

[REDACTED]

Reliable informants

Advise:

has been in contact and/or associated with the following individuals, all of whom have either been members or are closely associated with the CP:

DAIGER HUSS

[REDACTED]

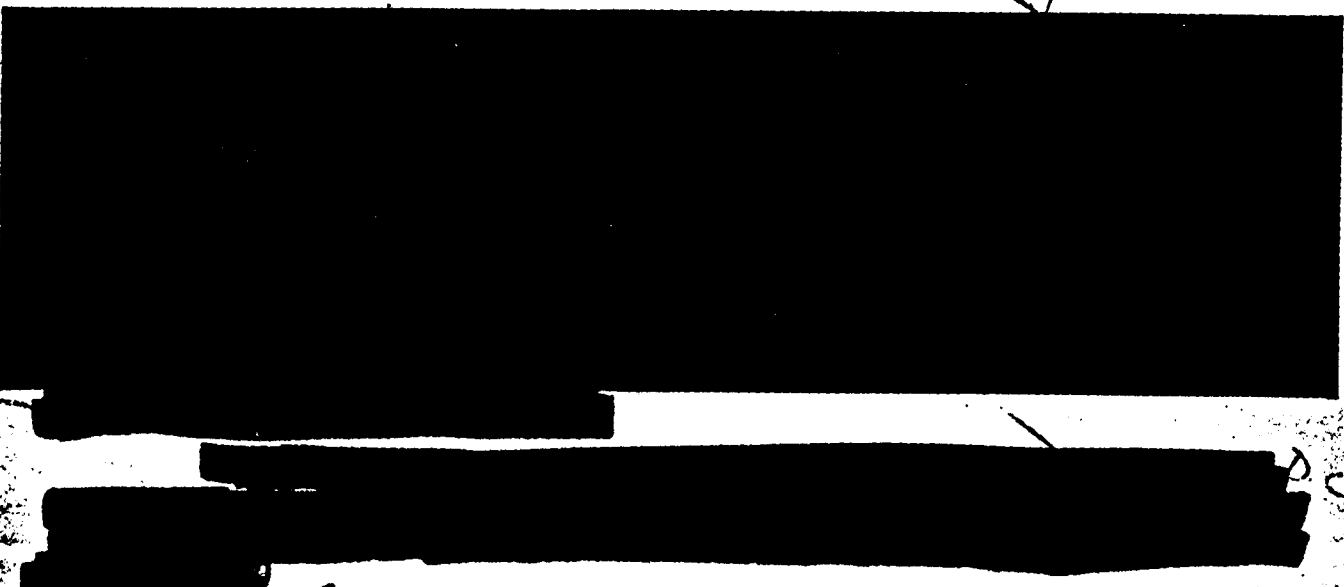
COPIES DESTROYED 224 JAN 25 1962	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <b>101-1298-29</b>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <i>[Handwritten notes and signatures]</i>	RECORDED-59 INDEXED-1129
THIS REPORT 101-1298 (RM) a Field (Info.) (RM) Army (RM) 12-12-61 100-117576 12-20-61	DATE JAN 1954		
BY MARY WALKER TAYLOR (wife)			

This report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

SECRET

1/22/54

NY 100-117576



ALGER HISS

D. C.

C. P. [unclear]

On February 18, 1949 [redacted] employee of Department of Agriculture, was interviewed by SE JOHN E. VAN ETTEM. He advised that TELFORD TAYLOR was a close associate of ALGER HISS, both having worked rather closely in the Agriculture Department during the 1930's.

On March 2, 1949 TELFORD TAYLOR, Brigadier General, Head of the War Crimes Section, United States Army, was interviewed in his office in the Pentagon Building by SA THOMAS J. BARRY and he advised that he first met ALGER HISS in 1934 when he had gone to work for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the Agriculture Department. He stated that HISS was somewhat younger than he and never considered himself to be a very close friend. TAYLOR explained that after HISS resigned, he took over part of HISS' duties and, therefore, worked closely with HISS for a few weeks in order to become acquainted with his duties. TAYLOR stated that after HISS resigned he only saw him a few times at occasional cocktail parties.

TAYLOR stated that he entered the Justice Department in about September 1939 and in 1942 entered the United States Army and went overseas. From that time until May 1948 he had



1/22/54

*V.R.*  
NY 100-117576

not seen or heard of ALGER HISS. TAYLOR stated that when he returned from overseas in May 1948, he contacted HISS in connection with his work in the War Crimes Trials since he wanted HISS to publish some information concerning the trials; the arrangements for which were to be made by the Carnegie Endowment for Peace with which HISS was then connected.

TAYLOR went on to say that in about October 1948, after the charges against HISS had appeared in the newspapers but before the "Pumpkin Papers" had been exposed, HISS was in touch with him. According to TAYLOR, HISS told him that he wanted to go over some of the things that had happened during the period of their joint employment in the Agriculture Department in order to refresh his memory.

TAYLOR concluded by stating that during his employment at the Agriculture Department he believed that he may have been in ALGER HISS' home about six times and that HISS and his wife came to their home about the same number of times.

The "New York Times" of August 3, 1948, page one, column one, carried an article entitled "Red 'Underground' in Federal Post Alleged by Editor." The article stated that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 3, 1948 described ALGER HISS as a member of the Communist Party "Underground" operating in Washington, D. C. in the 1930's. The article further reflects that ALGER HISS was former Director of Special Political Affairs in the State Department, Executive Secretary of the Dunbarton Oaks and Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference at the time the United Nations Charter was written.

On January 20, 1950 ALGER HISS was convicted on two counts of perjury by Federal Court and on January 25, 1950 he was sentenced to five years imprisonment on each count, the sentences to run concurrently.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

1/22/54

NY 100-117576

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This informant stated that the subject was well acquainted with ALGER HISS possibly through the Harvard Law School and

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

101-1298-29

INVENTORY WORKSHEET

FILE NO: See Reference

RE: Alger Hiss

DATE March, 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
100-433447-725	12/30/66	New York Report	17	2	N.P.
121-23527-42	10/9/50	New York Report	36	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
123-4287-3	2/17/50	New York Report	21	3	N.P.
123-739-2	6/24/48	WFO Report	8	1	N.P.
100-184255-A	8/31/48	DAILY WORKER	2	2	—
100-405838-25	4/6/54	memo KEY to Belmont w/ ENCL.	—	—	Enclosure Not subject to disclosure under FOIPA.
121-23552-10	3/26/54	Letter to WFO FROM the Director, FBI	2	1	N.P.
121-3438-3	4/19/48	WFO Letter	2	1	N.P.
140-25364-28	2/7/62	Letter to New York AND WFO FROM the Director, FBI w/ ENCL.	7	1	N.P. (b)(7)(D) (Per orig. Agency)
140-4039-8	8/17/61	Letter to Director, FBI FROM A Government Agency. w/ ENCL.	2	1	N.P. (b)(7)(D) (Per orig. Agency)
			97	13	

12-30-66

IV. ACTIVITIES

A meeting was held in New York City in April, 1968, which was primarily concerned with the ways and means that could be used to abolish the HUAC.

Among those in attendance were [REDACTED]  
ALGER HISS and [REDACTED]

100-433447-725

12/30/66

The "Evening Bulletin", a Philadelphia daily newspaper, issue of September 26, 1954, in a article captioned "Hiss Release Set For November 27." This article stated that ALGER HISS who was convicted in January, 1950, of lying under oath before a Grand Jury in denying that he ever passed secret Government documents to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, confessed courier for a pre-World War II Communist Espionage ring. The article discussed ALGER HISS' coming release from the Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, Federal Penitentiary after completion of his prison sentence.

100-433447-725

10/9/50

NY 121-9530

[REDACTED]

A factor that has contributed largely to [REDACTED] current thinking, said the Informant, has been his past association with OWEN LATTIMORE, LAUCHLIN CURRIE, JOHN CARTER VINCENT and ALGER HISS. These people are pro-Communist, according to the Informant.

Confidential Informant New York City T-19 said he does not know the extent of the association between [REDACTED] and ALGER HISS but said that [REDACTED] was a good friend of his and that after HISS' first trial in New York she shed tears because HISS was not acquitted of the charges of perjury.

*alt*

Regarding ALGER HISS, the "New York Herald Tribune" on January 22, 1950 stated that ALGER HISS was convicted on two counts of perjury in that he lied under oath when he denied that he had ever given secret State Department documents to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS or any other unauthorized person or that he had seen Mr. CHAMBERS between January 1, 1937 and August 17, 1948. The article stated, "The verdict meant that Mr. HISS was found guilty of giving Government secrets to a Communist spy ring in 1938."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

121-23527-42

2/17/50

The report of Special Agent Wesley A. Anderson, Chicago Office, dated January 4, 1949, entitled JAY DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, was.; ALGER HISS, et al., Perjury, Espionage - R, Bureau File 74-1338, contains the following information concerning Mr. GEORGE H. BLACKWELL, Lake Forest Academy, 1500 Melody Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois:

On December 30, 1948 Mrs. ETHEL BLACKWELL advised agents of the Chicago Office that she had first known ALGER HISS slightly in Baltimore where they were both reared and where both attended the Baltimore Friends School at different times. Their acquaintanceship was very casual during this period and Mrs. BLACKWELL saw HISS again when HISS was at Harvard University and she was attending Radcliffe College. Mrs. BLACKWELL also stated that ALGER HISS had been in the class of her husband's sister at John Hopkins University. No further information was given by Mrs. BLACKWELL in this regard.

123-4287-3

2/17/50

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd.)

Mrs. BLACKWELL became reacquainted with ALGER HISS and Mrs. ALGER HISS in Washington, D.C. at the time HISS'S stepson, TIMOTHY MORSE, became a student at the Landon School in Bethesda, Maryland. Mrs. BLACKWELL first thought that this had occurred in 1934 but after reviewing a recent letter from ALGER HISS stated the date was 1936, at which time both Mrs. BLACKWELL and her husband, GEORGE H. BLACKWELL, were teaching at the Landon School.

Subsequently, Mrs. BLACKWELL became better acquainted with PRISCILLA HISS than she did with ALGER inasmuch as she saw Mrs. HISS quite frequently because of their mutual interest in music with the result that they attended some concerts and other functions together. Further she and Mr. BLACKWELL saw both Mr. and Mrs. HISS two or three times a year from 1936 until December, 1941. The BLACKWELLS left Washington in 1942, since which time they have corresponded with the HISSSES occasionally. On at least one occasion Mr. and Mrs. GEORGE H. BLACKWELL were at the HISSSES' home for dinner.

During the foregoing interview, GEORGE H. BLACKWELL entered and both he and his wife advised that they had never heard Mr. or Mrs. HISS make any statements which would indicate that the HISSSES were members of the Communist Party or affiliated with this organization in anyway nor had they noticed that the HISSSES were engaged in anything subversive. Both emphasized that they had the greatest respect and admiration for both Mr. and Mrs. HISS and never had any suspicion that either was engaged in any activity detrimental to the United States.

The BLACKWELLS advised that they were not acquainted with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS and had no knowledge of him prior to newspaper publicity in connection with his accusations against ALGER HISS.

Prior to 1948 the BLACKWELLS did not recall receiving any typewritten correspondence from either Mr. or Mrs. HISS but in 1948 received two typewritten letters from ALGER HISS on the letterhead of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace together with a carbon copy of a letter, on the same letterhead, dated October 20, 1948, from ALGER HISS to Reverend J. GILLESPIE WILSON, St. Mary's Rectory, Ardmore, Pennsylvania. The BLACKWELLS located a letter from Mr. HISS which stated he believed he first knew the BLACKWELLS when they entered Landon in the fall of 1936. He also referred to several occasions when he and his wife, PRISCILLA, and the BLACKWELLS went to Christ Church for evening services. A carbon copy of

123-4287-3



2/17/50

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd.)

the letter addressed to Reverend ARMSTRONG, which was in the possession of the BLACKWELLS, contained a statement by HISS informing Reverend ARMSTRONG that ARMSTRONG may have seen press accounts of what HISS described as irresponsible and fantastic accusations to which he had been subjected since early in August, 1948 and that HISS was engaged in the task of demonstrating that various of these accusations were hallucinatory statements made by CHAMBERS. The BLACKWELLS advised that the October 20, 1948 letter to the BLACKWELLS, from ALGER HISS, was also for the purpose of establishing attendance of the HISS family at church in connection with the efforts of HISS to demonstrate that the statements of CHAMBERS were untrue.

123-4287-3

6/24/48

Washington T-2, an informant of known reliability, advised in early 1946 that ABRAHAM and wife were close associates of ALGER HISS and had been invited to his home several times.

Washington T-3, a former member of the Communist Party and of established reliability, has furnished considerable information to the FBI, advised that ALGER HISS was involved in a Soviet espionage agent conspiracy operating in Washington, D. C. and New York City in the early 1940's; was a close associate of known Communist Party members and pro-Soviet sympathizers, and that for a period, known to this informant, was also a member of the Communist Party.

123-739-2

# Un-Americans Threaten Stevens With Reprisals

By Louise Mitchell

The House Un-American Committee hearings which opened here yesterday in the Federal Court House in an atmosphere of a Hollywood extravaganza turned into a Grade B flopperoo when Alexander Stevens, who faces deportation, refused to answer all questions on the ground that they would incriminate him.

Threats of reprisals by members of the subcommittee through perjury proceedings and recommendations of contempt citation did not intimidate Stevens who steadfastly asserted his rights in accordance with the Constitution's Fifth Amendment.

The dramatic high point of the hearing, according to the press, was to have been the confrontation of Stevens and Whittaker Chambers, the committee's stoolpigeon. But it went poor.

Flashbulbs stopped flashing, the reporters stopped scribbling and a hushed silence fell in Room, 406 of the court house when a side door opened and Chambers appeared.

A small pudgy man with effeminate manners and shifty colorless eyes entered the room and stared at the ceiling.

Robert Stripling, committee investigator, demanded of Stevens whether he knew Chambers. Stevens calmly refused to answer on the ground that it would incriminate him. All other questions

(Continued on Page 11)  
(Continued from Page 2)

were answered in the same way to the obvious annoyance of the nattily-dressed Rep. Richard Nixon (R-Cal) and cold-eyed Rep. John McDowell (R-Pa), committee members present at the "spy" hunt.

Chambers' a senior editor of Time magazine, later spun a hopped-up story about a J. Edgar Hoover head of an "underground espionage ring" which operated in Washington during the 1930's. Chambers unfolded a fantastic tale in which he, Chambers, obtained a \$6,000-a-year job within 24 hours back in

1938 or 1939 on the Federal Research project through the alleged assistance of Abraham G. Silverman and Irving Kaplan, whom Chambers declared were Communists. Chambers said he held the job for two months while on the payroll of the Communists. He took the job, he asserted, in order to "regain his identity," resume his real name and break with the Communists.

### BERLE TO TESTIFY

The name of A. A. Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State and now state chairman of the Liberal Party, figured in the hearings. He will appear before the committee in executive session. Rep. McDowell asserted that Berle, violent anti-Communist, would be questioned on Chambers' testimony that Chambers said he was accompanied by Isaac Don Levine, anti-Communist writer, who went along with him on his trip to the White House to vouch for his character.

The committee and the Department of Immigration and Naturalization vied for top billing yesterday in their persecution of Stevens. Immigration officials started off in the morning by holding a deportation hearing at 70 Columbus Ave., but the first order of business was service of a subpoena on Stevens by Stephen Birmingham, an investigator for the House Committee. The subpoena was issued to J. Stevens although the Immigration arrest warrant names Alexander Stevens. Stevens' attorney Carol King and Stevens refused throughout the Immigration hearing to participate because it was an "illegal action." In answer to all questions from the presiding inspector, Ralph Farb, Miss King replied, "We are not participating in this hearing."

### CHARGES HEARING ILLEGAL

Miss King challenged the deportation hearing on the ground that it was a subterfuge for the sole purpose of putting Stevens in a position where he would accept the House Committee's subpoena. She declared that the hearing was in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 which forbids the Department from acting as both examiner and jury in deportation cases. Her motion was overruled by Farb.

### EXTENDED SUBPENA

As the Immigration hearing opened, Stevens was referred to as J. Peters by Farb but Miss King objected strongly. He was served a formal warrant of arrest in the name of Alexander Stevens. The Immigration hearing adjourned at noon in order to permit Stevens and his attorney time to appear before the House Committee hearing at 1 p.m. After Stevens re-

7:11  
97

file

INDEXED 69 EX 25  
100-184225-11  
NOT RECORDED  
76 SEP 16 1948

This is a clipping from Page 2 + 11 of the Daily Worker

Date 9-31-48  
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIVE

fused to answer the questions of the House Committee, his subpoena was extended and he went to Immigration offices again for a continuation of that hearing.

As he was dismissed by the House Committee, Striping demanded that Stevens be ready to be called at any time, claiming his whereabouts had been unknown to the committee for a year. Miss King sharply denied this saying that the committee never attempted to contact him.

Main witness at the Immigration hearing was Sebastian P. Latona, an FBI fingerprint specialist, who said that fingerprints obtained from Stevens when he was arrested for deportation proceedings Oct. 8, 1947, were the same as those obtained several years ago on an Alien Registration form. He, therefore, concluded that they both belonged to Stevens.

The only two House Committee questions which Stevens answered were that he knew Earl Browder, expelled Communist leader, and that he had never done anything which would injure the security of the United States. He stated that he arrived in this country in 1924 and not in 1932 as the Immigration Department maintains. He said he was born in Cop, Czechoslovakia.

Chambers' story alleged that he met Stevens in 1928 in the offices of the Daily Worker and that he was introduced to Stevens by Max Bedacht, formerly associated with the International Workers Order. He said that he worked with Stevens as "an underground spy" and that the "above-ground" Communists did not know of his activities. He again named Alger Hiss and Gregory Silvermaster in his testimony.

At the conclusion of the hearing, Rep. McDowell said the next session of the committee would be switched to Washington.

100-184255-A

8-31-48

3/26/54

The Department of State has requested investigation on the basis of information reflecting association of the captioned employee with Robert Talbott Miller, III, and Alger Hiss.

121-23552-10

4/19/48

The only other references to the employee in the field office files are those set out in referenced letter showing that on June 7, 1946, PRISCILLA HISS, wife of ALGER HISS, one of the main subjects in the Silvermaster Case contacted Captain ABBOTT, who offered to let her and her husband use a cottage for the following week. The offer was declined.

On September 6, 1946, employee contacted PRISCILLA HISS and told her he had been in the Navy Hospital for a week but was out, and mentioned he had been transferred from the Navy to the State Department.

121-3438-3

2/7/62

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] mentioned, in passing, that Priscilla HISS and Alger HISS were once members of the Socialist Party. [REDACTED] recalls that both have denied this either in court or before a Congressional Committee. However, [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] has personally held Priscilla HISS' Socialist Party membership card in [REDACTED] own hands and knows that the HISS membership cards are still held by [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] said that one way you can spot a Communist is by the manner in which he speaks of a Trotskyite. [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] knew that Alger HISS was a Communist after Alger HISS called a friend of [REDACTED], a girl with whom HISS had an argument, a "Trotskyite bitch." [REDACTED] said that no one could put the meaning into Trotskyite in the same way that a Communist can.

140-25364-28113

SECRET

ENCLOSURE

8/17/61

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] mentioned, in passing, that Priscilla HISS and Alger HISS were once members of the Socialist Party. [REDACTED] recalls that both have denied this either in court or before a Congressional Committee. However, [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] has personally held Priscilla HISS' Socialist Party membership card in [REDACTED] own hands and knows that the HISS membership cards are still held by [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] said that one way you can spot a Communist is by the manner in which he speaks of a Trotskyite. [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] knew that Alger HISS was a Communist after Alger HISS called a friend of [REDACTED] a girl with whom HISS had an argument, a "Trotskyite bitch." [REDACTED] said that no one could put the meaning into Trotskyite in the same way that a Communist can.

[REDACTED]

140-4039-8



FILE NO: See References

RE: Alger Hiss

DATE March, 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
121-3438-6	4/30/48	memo Wall to Ladd	1	1	N.P.
121-3438-8	6/1/48	WFO Teletype	1	1	N.P.
100-176949-23	10/16/51	memo Belmont to Ladd w/enc1	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
100-342972-1702	2/1/49	New York Teletype	2	0	N.P. (b)(3)
121-29019-20	8/25/51	WFO Report	28	2	N.P. (b)(7)(c)
116-11462-14	6/29/50	New York Report	10	1	N.P. (b)(7)(c)
121-40313-2	8/29/52	memo Stanley to Belmont	3	2	N.P. (b)(7)(c)
121-4769-22	7/6/54	WFO Report	19	3	N.P. (b)(7)(c)
121-6365-10X4	1/11/49	New York Teletype	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(c)
100-124002-495	11/27/51	New York Letter w/enc1.	16	14	N.P.
			81	25	

4/30/48

On June 7, 1945, the employee was contacted by Priscilla Hiss, wife of Alger Hiss, one of the main subjects in the Silvermaster Case. At that time the employee offered to let Mrs. Hiss and her husband use a cottage for the following week. Again on September 6, 1945, the employee contacted Priscilla Hiss and mentioned he had been transferred from the Navy to the State Department.

121-3438-6

4578

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

FBI WASH FIELD

6-1-48

11:30 a.m.

DIRECTOR AND SAC PHOENIX

URGENT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

INVESTIGATION BASED ON EMPLOYEES ALLEGED

MEMBERSHIP IN WASHINGTON COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION IN FORTYONE, AND

CONTACTS DURING FORTYSIX WITH PRISCILLA HISS, WIFE OF ALGER HISS, ONE OF

MAIN SUBJECTS IN SILVERMASTER CASE WHICH INVOLVES RUSSIAN ESPIONAGE

rel  
rel

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BUDED PAST.

101-1947

JED:NFB

RECORDED - 83  
INDEXED - 83  
HOTTEL

121-3438-8

EX-13

15 AUG 1948

[Handwritten signature]

8/as/51

1 | 42 |   
with several Communist Party fronts in D. C. in early 1940's; [REDACTED] allegedly affiliated with Silvermaster subjects; and JOHN FREDERICK DAVIS, one time attorney for ALGER HISS.

121-29019-20

8/25/51

Investigation by the FBI in 1950 determined that JOHN FREDERICK DAVIS, the former law partner of the appointee, had served as one of the attorneys representing ALGER HISS in hearings before the HCUA and in his perjury trial. ALGER HISS was convicted on January 21, 1950, and is presently serving a five-year sentence for having lied in denying that he passed State Department documents to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, self-admitted former Soviet espionage agent.

124-29019-20

6/29/50

Confidential Informant T-1 specifically recalled that [REDACTED] remarked on one occasion, during the Spring of 1950, that he did not believe that ALGER HISS was guilty even though he had been convicted of perjury in a Federal Court. T-1 stated that he felt that this was an un-American attitude and that it was not indicative of good citizenship to question established democratic legal procedures. T-1 likewise stated that he construed this statement as indicating that [REDACTED] had pro-Communist tendencies because the Communist Party likewise had criticized the trial of ALGER HISS.

116-11462-14

8/29/52

Bufiles reflect that Alger Hiss appeared before the HCUA with [REDACTED] on 8/17/48 at which time he identified [REDACTED] as "a friend." It is to be noted that at the time Hiss appeared before the Committee he was President of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. (65-56402-3682)

As a result of a special inquiry from the White House verbally made on 9/12/50 by Donald S. Dawson, Administrative Assistant to the President, the White House was furnished copies of [REDACTED] as well as

8/29/52

a summary reflecting [REDACTED] appearance before the HCUA with A. Biss.

121-40313-2



Pertinent information regarding [REDACTED] references.  
ALGER HISS,

121-4769-22

advised that, after a short period, she was assigned as a Substitute Secretary to ALGER HISS who was employed in the office of the General Counsel. She stated that she served both ALGER HISS and MATTHEW SILVERMAN in the capacity of Secretary,

During an investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1952, in connection with another matter, it was ascertained that [REDACTED] in making application for Government employment,

In a similar application dated June 21, 1938, ALGER HISS, State Department, Washington, D. C., was reflected as a reference.

JAY DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, an admitted former Soviet agent, was interviewed in early 1949, concerning his activities in the Communist Party underground and in Soviet espionage.

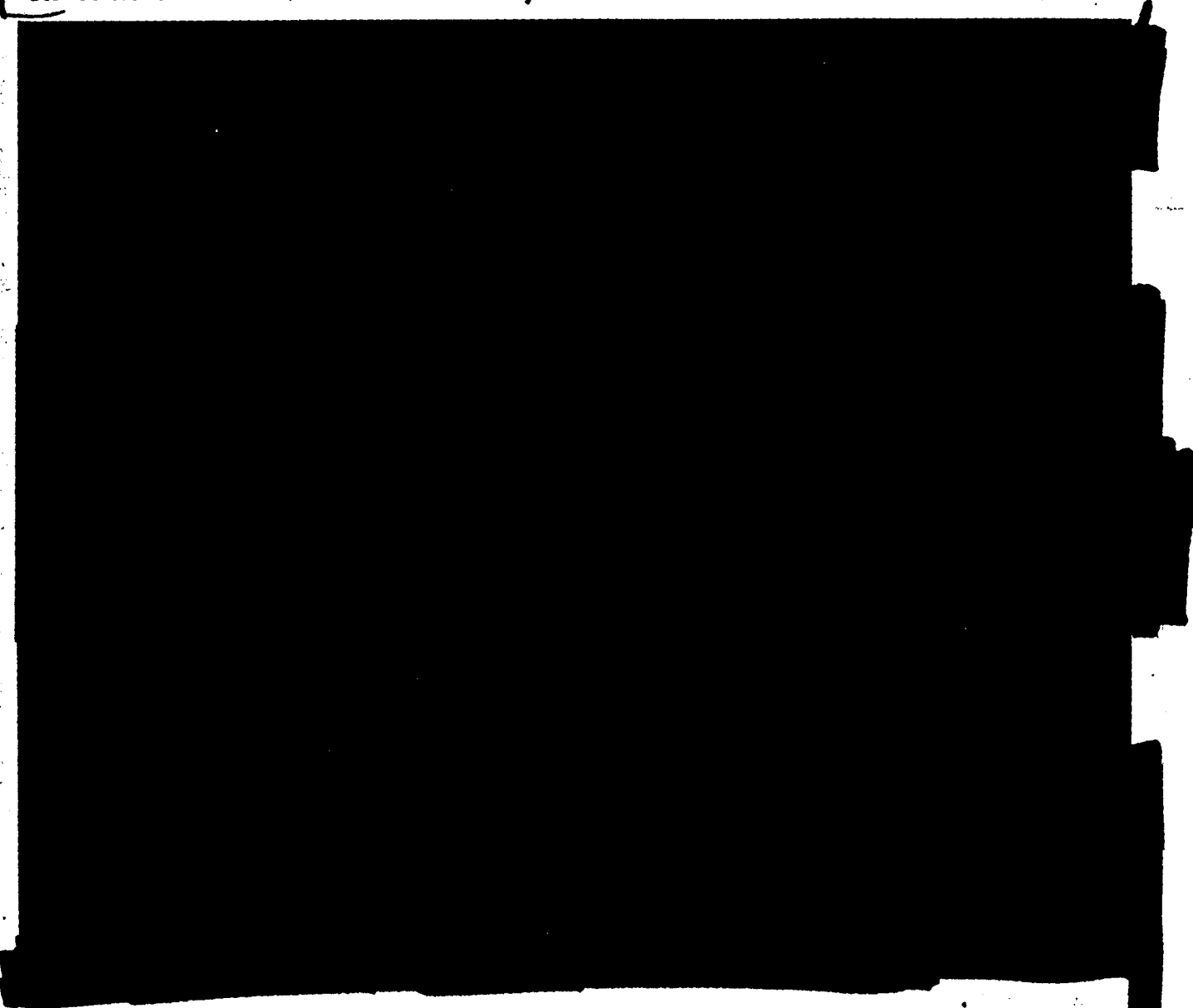
CHAMBERS described an underground Communist organization which operated in Washington, D. C. in the early and middle 1930's, stating that it was directed by J. PETERS and the late HAROLD WARE and that this organization included ALGER HISS, LEE PRESSMAN, NATHAN WITT, and others. CHAMBERS continued that SILVERMAN lived in an apartment house next to the HISS apartment, was employed at the Agriculture Department, and was a member of the aforementioned Communist group at Agriculture.

7/6/54

CHAMBERS advised that he had been told that SILVERMAN had been ordered to leave Washington by members of the Communist Party group described above as he, SILVERMAN, had allegedly described, in writing, a part of the operations of the underground operations in Washington.

The records of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, reflect that ALGER HISS was convicted on two counts of perjury on January 20, 1950, resulting from his testimony before a Grand Jury, wherein he (1) denied furnishing Government documents or other information to JAY DAVID WEITZNER CHAMBERS, or any other unauthorized person and (2) denied having seen CHAMBERS subsequent to January 1, 1937.

On January 25, 1950, ALGER HISS was sentenced to five years on each count of the indictment, sentences to run concurrently.



1/11/49

BUREAU FILES INDICATE AN EXAMINATION BY THE  
PHILADELPHIA OFFICE OF BRIEF CASE OF ██████████ AN EMPLOYEE OF THE  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, REVEALED IT CONTAINED AMONG OTHER  
THINGS A PUBLICATION QUOTE THE AMERICAN REVIEW ON THE SOVIET UNION UNQUOTE  
AND AN ADDRESS BOOK WITH THE NAMES OF ALGER HISS,

121-6365-10X4

特に機密保持に留意相成度。  
 本資料の内容は政治上、外交上に重大なる影響を有するに付、



This Tokyo snap reveals intense and serious look of Stalin's spy.

# THE ALMOST PERFECT RUSSIAN SPY

*Compared to Richard Sorge, the Communists who stole atom-bomb secrets from Canada a few years ago were a bunch of fumbling amateurs. Here, for the first time, is the story of the incredible man who was Stalin's top known secret agent*

100-124002-495

BY HEDE MASSING

**D**uring the early morning hours of May 20, 1941, sentries outside the German Embassy in Tokyo came to smart salute as a powerfully built man with a slight limp passed and entered the building. Once inside, he walked quietly to the desk of Kretschmer, the German Military Attaché, and began picking the lock. It was not quite 7 and the offices were deserted.

This man was neither an intruder nor a stray thief. As the sentries' salutes demonstrated, he had every official right to be in the Embassy, any hour, day or night. He was, in fact, Herr Doktor Richard Sorge, Press Attaché of the Embassy and the close friend and advisor of the Ambassador himself, Major General Eugen Ott.

Within a few minutes the tumblers were aligned. Dr. Sorge opened the desk drawer

1942 Jap police file on Sorge: "Contents of this document vitally affect Domestic Administration and Foreign Relations and should be kept absolutely secret."



Sorge adjusts Leica camera he used as a spy during an outing in Japan in 1935.



General Ott, Nazi Ambassador.



Sorge's aide: Ozaki Hozumi, Jap Red.

Austrian-born Hede Massing was a Communist for nineteen years, a courier and spy for a Communist "apparatus" for four, and during that time had ample opportunity to observe the members and the methods of the Party's inner councils. She was the first wife of Gerhart Eisler, who was described as the leading Communist in the United States before he jumped bail while under indictment for contempt of Congress and fled to Europe aboard a Polish ship in 1949. Eisler is now Chief of Propaganda for Communist East Germany.

Mrs. Massing quit Communism in 1938, and in recent months has testified before the United States Senate Internal Security Committee.

Mrs. Massing met Richard Sorge many times in Germany, Russia and the United States. She knew him well. This story is based not only on reports made by the Japanese police and found by American forces in Tokyo, but on her own

and quickly removed the blueprints of a new Japanese fighter plane slated for production in three months. Carrying the blueprints to the Embassy's photography room, he took a Robot camera from his pocket and made copies.

By 8, when the earlier birds of the Embassy staff began to flutter in, the original blueprints were back in the re-locked desk of the Military Attaché, and Sorge, with the microfilms in his pocket, was on his way to have breakfast with Their Excellencies, Ambassador and Frau Ott.

These breakfasts were a common occurrence and an honor enjoyed only by Dr. Sorge. Neither the military, naval, aviation nor commercial attachés had such a definite "in" with Hitler's representative. Nor was there anything strange about that. Sorge and the Otts had known and admired each other ever since 1933, when Sorge, then a German newspaperman, had met Ott, then a lieutenant colonel and assistant military attaché. Over the years they had become the closest of friends.

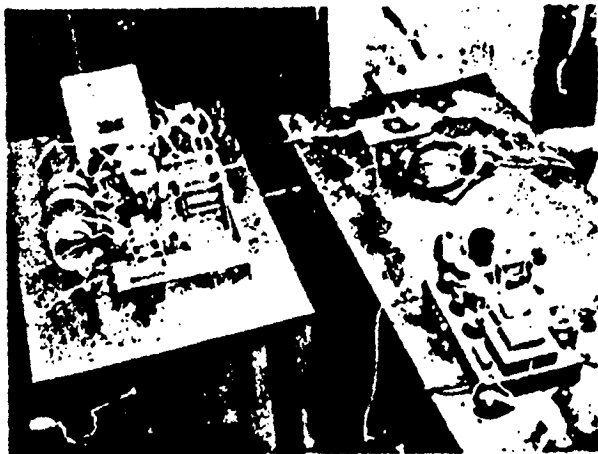
This May morning, the Ambassador had sensational news for his friend. The Ambassador put down his coffee and



Radio man was Max Klausen, German Communist.



Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, had his top secrets stolen.



Transmitter (left) and receiver in Klausen's home.

another toward Rostov, but the main attack would be aimed at Moscow itself. The jump-off, confided Ambassador Ott, was set for the 20th of June. In just a month.

History has harbored few secrets more important than this. The decision by Nazi Germany to invade Soviet Russia was a turning point, not only in the war, but in the lives of all of us. If successful, such a mammoth attack—the greatest in manpower in all history—would smash Stalin forever and make Hitler master of the world. But if Stalin got wind of the plan in advance. . . .

After breakfast with the Ambassador, Sorge went about his usual duties: Reading the world's newspapers in seven languages, press releases, interviews, conferences at the Embassy and lunch with local, important German businessmen who droned on forever about munitions and oil, tractors and subs.

Sorge was always glad when he could get out and nip a drink. That evening he had cocktails and dinner at home, alone, and then hopped on his motorcycle and tore off to 22 Sanai Cho, the home of an acquaintance of his, a French reporter, Brancq de Voukelitch. Despite the fact

about the friendship, Doktor Sorge having carefully explained to Ott that he was purposely maintaining contact with the Frenchman "in order not to sever all connection with reporters representing enemy countries and countries unfriendly to Germany." The Ambassador agreed that this sounded like common sense.

In short order, Sorge and Voukelitch settled down to a solid drink. Both members of the working press, there was plenty of professional gossip to hash. Also, both were camera fans. Voukelitch even had built a darkroom right in his house. In fact, when Sorge handed him the roll of film he had been carrying since early morning, the Frenchman promised to develop it.

Sociable as Sorge undoubtedly was, he never felt entirely at ease in Voukelitch's house—there was also a very good reason for this. The German had successfully double-crossed Voukelitch at what is often regarded as a Frenchman's favorite indoor sport. Shortly after Voukelitch and his wife, Edith, had met Sorge in Japan, the Doktor had seduced the wife. Later Voukelitch divorced Edith—on no account because of Sorge—and married a charming Japanese girl.

# Spy

[Continued from page 27]

im somewhat uneasy when in Voukelich's company.

This weakness the Doktor had for women, and the even more pronounced weakness that they had for him, had given him a somewhat garish reputation. Some pretty women had expended their charms on the easy-going, heavy-drinking German over the years. The latest of these was Kalagayach Donovan, a pretty Japanese-Irish dancing girl from one of Tokyo's cabarets. That evening Sorge had his most enjoyable conference of the day with Kalagayach in his bedroom. It was not hard to know when Sorge was engaged in such work. He switched on the porch lantern as a signal for friends to stay away.

Shortly after midnight, Sorge reluctantly got dressed, put Kalagayach on the back seat of his motorcycle and whisked home.

For most men, especially for a man whom most people considered "a bit shy," this would have been enough for the day. Up before 7, a lock picked at 8, then a full day's work, and finally bedded down with a Eurasian dancing girl. Most men would have been ready to call quits. Not Sorge. He still had one call to pay—at 2 Hiroo Cho, the name of a fellow countryman. It was late when Max Gottfried Friedrich Klausen opened the door. He was in pajamas. Klausen was a businessman, founder and president of M. Klausen & Co., manufacturers of printing equipment in Tokyo. Quietly, not to disturb Frau Klausen who was asleep, the two men went up the stairs to a storage room and opened the door.

Klausen unlocked a large wardrobe and took out two wooden boxes suitcase size. One contained a radio transmitter; the other, a receiver. In less than ten minutes, both were ready for use. No outdoor antennae were necessary. Klausen simply strung a sending antenna seven meters long, made out of tin-plated, copper-stranded wires, in the room. For reception, he strung a wire, a meter long, down the wall. While Klausen was making these arrangements, Dr. Sorge had picked up a copy of the bulky *German Statistical Yearbook*, and was busy using it as a key to decipher a message. When both men were set, Klausen flashed a recognition light—AC7MR. He got back XU7BS. "Ready with Wiesbaden," said Klausen. "Wiesbaden is a famous Ger city and watering resort. Between you and Klausen, however, it was the name they used for a secret communist radio station located somewhere in Siberia. [To this day the exact whereabouts of "Wiesbaden" is not known. Klausen and Klausen were of the belief that it lay in or near Vladivostok.] For the few minutes the air crackled with the unobtrusive house in

and a Red Army intelligence station 100 miles away. By morning, Stalin, sipping tea in the Kremlin, knew everything that Ambassador Ott had confided to Sorge at breakfast the day before. He had a full month's warning of Hitler's attack. He knew the date, (eventually it was postponed two days), the number of divisions, the direction of the main attack. This information was of incredible value to Stalin, to Russia, to the cause of communism all over the world. Yet it had hardly cost the Red Dictator a cent.

Dr. Richard Sorge was Stalin's good right arm stretching into the heart of his mortal enemies, Germany and Japan. He was almost certainly the greatest spy of the Second World War. If there were greater ones, they are not yet known. In his double role of Nazi Press Attaché and Communist spy, he had the entire German Embassy in Tokyo and Nazi Government in Berlin duped—but good. It is unlikely that there was a top-level



Spy ring, communicating by radio between Tokyo and Vladivostok, warned Stalin of Japanese activities aimed at Siberia.

secret of any importance, passing between Berlin and Tokyo in either direction, that he did not know, and his chief source of information was no charwoman or kitchen maid, but the German Ambassador himself. In the opinion of American Major General Charles A. Willoughby, chief intelligence officer on General MacArthur's staff, Sorge enjoyed a position of "incredible trust. . . . The famous Canadian spy case during the recent war is the best known current example of Soviet espionage. Compared to the Sorge case, however, the Canadian affair was an amateur show. . . . For eight productive years, a daring and skillful band of spies worked in Japan for their spiritual fatherland, Soviet Russia. Starting from nothing in a country which he never before had even visited, Dr. Sorge was able to develop the most complete and successful espionage operation in Japanese history. Despite their vigorous activity and enormous successes, they went unsuspected and so undetected. Led by Dr. Sorge, a German Communist posing convincingly as a loyal Nazi, this ring of spies almost succeeded in committing the perfect crime."

During the crucial war years, along with

broadly to Russia 141 times under the eyes of the supposedly all-seeing Japanese police. Through couriers they smuggled over 800 rolls of microfilm, containing well over 10,000 pages of top-secret German and Japanese documents, to Russian couriers waiting on the Asiatic mainland. Sorge did not only warn Stalin of Hitler's attack. Later he got word to the Kremlin of even more vital news.

His work, said the Police Bureau of the Japanese Home Ministry, was "unprecedented." And Japan's police don't like to admit such things. The information he forwarded was "of immense value to the Soviet Government, the Red Army and the International Communist Party." Later, his former colleagues at the German Embassy paid him respect as a true "master spy." How Ambassador Ott felt about it, he never divulged. But he must have blushed when he learned that, while he (as Ambassador) was a Major General in the German Army, his breakfast companion actually outranked him as a Lieutenant General in the army of his enemy. But Ott was not the only headliner hoodwinked. Sorge's chief assistant spy was a Japanese named Ozaki Hirozumi. When Prince Konoye became Prime Minister of Japan, he chose Ozaki as his Unofficial Cabinet Advisor.

From these perfect sources—plus a network of sixteen other spies—Sorge got his hands on more top-secret material than was known to either the Ambassador or Prime Minister, since Sorge was working both the German and Japanese sides of the track and, as will develop, the Allied side as well. So successful was Sorge from 1933 to 1941, that the Red Army always knew the plans of the Japanese government, army and navy.

These authoritative opinions, coming from his enemies—Japanese, German, American—are thoroughly confirmed by the documents now at hand.

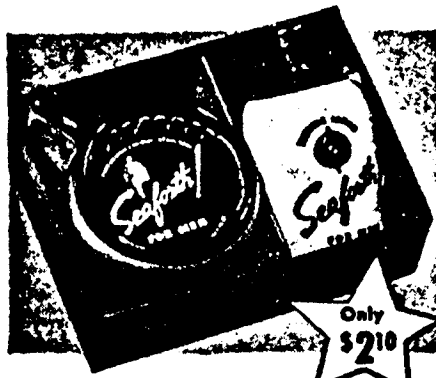
After Sorge was caught in late 1941, and once he became convinced that neither the Nazi Embassy nor the Soviet Government could spring him from the Japanese death trap, he wrote a \$2,000-word confession. The next year the Criminal Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Justice compiled three husky volumes of *Sorge Case Material*. Stamped TOP SECRET, these sensational disclosures were confined to the files in Japan during the war, but with the American occupation three years later, they were found and translated. Copies now exist in Washington. Finally, General Willoughby and American attorneys checked the entire Japanese investigation for accuracy and did further research on their own.

This account is based on material from these sources, almost none of which has been released to the American public prior to its publication now in *TRUTH*. It is also based on my own personal knowledge of Sorge, dating from the time when, as a Communist spy myself, I knew him in Germany and Russia (1922-33).

Richard Sorge—or as I knew him, Ika—was strikingly handsome in a rugged, masculine sort of way. He was thickset, with cold, proud eyes, black hair and a deeply furrowed face. His distinguished



# Merry Christmas!



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## Seaforth!

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to you!

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- Prices, including import duties and delivery charges, are most attractive because of the favorable exchange rate for the British Pound-Sterling. You save at least one-third on the price that you would expect to pay for custom tailored garments of comparable quality.
- All patterns are also supplied in any length for home tailoring. The price is most reasonable for this 100% virgin wool imported Harris Tweed.

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P. O. BOX 213 - DESK 8  
MINNEAPOLIS 1, MINNESOTA

HAND WOVEN  
**Harris Tweed**

women always turn for a second glance. He dressed expensively in tweeds and looked like the man he was: a German gentleman and scholar, who had traveled much and lived dangerously. When nervous, he had the habit of flicking the lapel on the right side of his jacket.

Sorge was born in 1895, in Baku, Russia, where his German father was reorganizing the Czar's chaotic oilfields. He was the youngest of nine children, most of whom died in infancy, and the favorite of his warm-hearted, Russian mother. When Sorge was small, his father brought the family back to Germany. They were wealthy enough to camp out in a 50-room house in one of the fashionable districts of Berlin. "Like all my brothers and sisters," Sorge recalled in his confession, "I was slightly different from the average school child. I was a bad pupil, defied the school's regulations, was obstinate and willful. . . . In history, literature, philosophy, political science and, of course, athletics, I was far above the rest of the class. . . . For many years, I studied political developments carefully. At school, I was known as 'Prime Minister.'" Modesty was never one of Sorge's virtues.

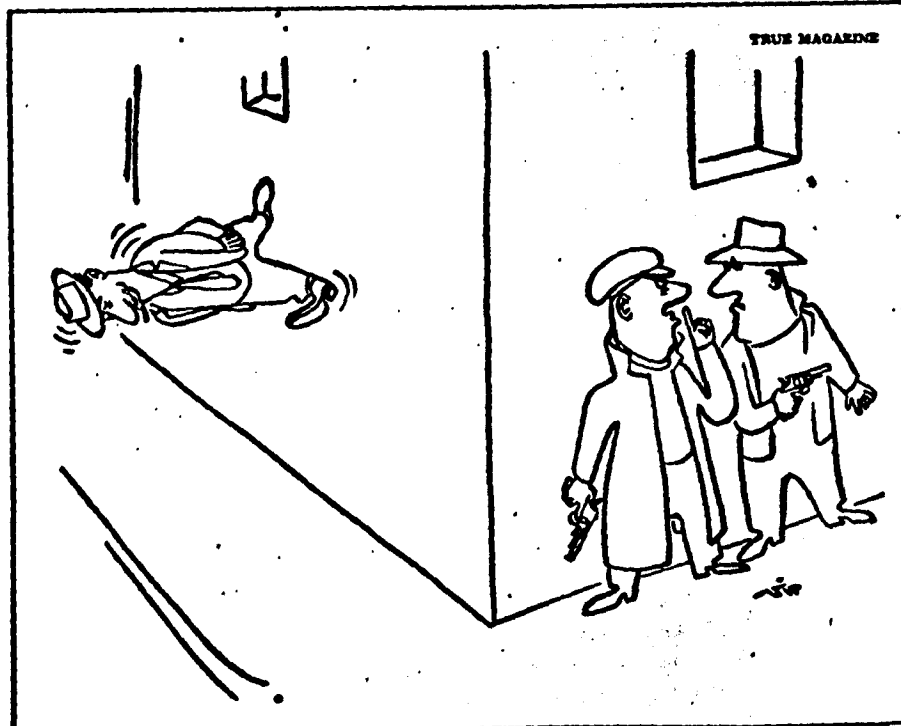
When the world went to war in 1914, Sorge volunteered as a private and, with only six weeks' training, was soon floundering in the Belgian mud in the great battle of the Yser. "From classroom to battlefield or from school chair to slaughter block," he remembered bitterly. Twice he was wounded and returned to civvies as unfit for duty. But Sorge re-enlisted anyway, only to be wounded a third time. Shrapnel peppered his leg and he had a slight limp the rest of his life.

While convalescing, he came in contact with doctors and nurses and other wounded soldiers whose political outlook was more and more Red. Coupled with Sorge's own Russian background (through his mother) and his hatred for what he

considered an "imperialist war," Sorge's thinking drifted left. As Germany teetered and crashed to defeat and inflation, the young veteran's outlook became increasingly glum. Civilians were gnawing turnips. Money was becoming so valueless that a salaried worker brought home his paycheck in bagfuls of inflated currency. Young girls were knocking each other dizzy to earn a few marks in boxing rings set up in Berlin nightclubs. Suddenly, in the east, in Russia a new hope for down-trodden mankind seemed to light up the darkness. The Communists seized power and with their moving, if phoney, slogans—"Peace and Bread," "Pacifism," "International Brotherhood"—appeared to many young men like Sorge to hold out, not merely the best, but the only hope for the future. With a quickened pulse and a new interest in life, Sorge in 1918 turned Communist.

It is one thing to become a Communist. It is something else to become a Red Army lieutenant general and the greatest spy of your generation. Although differing entirely in purpose and methods, the Communist Party has this much in common with any other political party: you begin at the bottom and you work up. Sorge started out no higher than a soap-box orator, but in 1918 Germany, whooping it up for the Communists had to be a secret affair. When he became a Communist, Sorge began a double life that was never to end.

By day he was a student at the University of Kiel. By night he was a Red propagandist, stealing into the barracks of the German Navy at Kiel. On October 29, 1918, the Kaiser's Fleet mutinied at Kiel, foreshadowing by two weeks the flight of the Kaiser and the Armistice that ended the war. Red sailors took over most of the Fleet. It was the first success the Communists had ever had in Germany and Sorge had played his small, but helpful part well.



TRUE MAGAZINE

the handle of the pistol he always carried, Sorge threw himself into communist agitation. He worked as a miner at the Ruhr coalfields, not to mine coal, but to undermine with communist har- gues the other pick-wielders. He also earned his Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Hamburg in 1920. The next year, with Party approval, became an assistant instructor in the social-science department of the Uni- versity of Frankfurt. Then Sorge got the best of two breaks he needed to whisk up the communist ladder. The Party was outlawed. As Sorge's affiliations were then known to the police, he was elected as the member best able to hide secret documents and vital member- ship lists of the local Frankfurt Party. Some he hid in his room or in the library stacks. Larger bundles he concealed in a coal bin of a classroom building. This damning material was never found. Sorge was praised by his superiors.

The second break followed swiftly. It changed his life. The illegal Party selected Frankfurt as the site for a secret con- vention. Worried about disorganization in the ranks of German Communists, the Communist International in Moscow de- cided to send four of its biggest men to pick up the flagging Germans. These were sent into Germany in disguise, were big indeed. Three of them—Manuil- Losovsky and Kuusinen—are former members of the Politburo. The Frankfurt group looked around for a member who was not being tailed by the police and would therefore be put in charge of the safety of the four Russians during their stay. Sorge was an obvious choice. While the convention lasted, the ambitious German was with the Muscovite leaders daily. He bought their food; he hid them in the homes of friends. By the time the meetings broke up, they formed such a high opinion of his determination and energy that they asked him to come to Moscow to work in the headquarters of the Communist Inter- national. In January, 1925, he arrived, an eager freshman, in the halls of his alma mater. At the same time his name was switched from the rolls of the German Party to the Russian.

After a year's study in communist es- sence—code work, world politics, sabo- tage, geography, military organization—Sorge was sent out on his first assign- ments. They were unexciting enough, con- cerned mostly with inter-party squabbles in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Eng- land, which Moscow wished to investigate. On his return to Moscow in 1929, he was transferred as an agent from the Com- munist International to the Fourth Bu- reau (Intelligence) of the Red Army. "General Olitsky," who then ran the big bureau at 14 Bolshaiya Semeynovsky, chose Sorge his choice of the world's five continents. He chose Asia, an area of opportunity and danger, where discovery meant death, but where he believed he could, unhappily, with wisdom—that a man of revolutionary upheavals was needed.

For three years he served in a ring of international spies in Shanghai, working

# CAVALCADE OF SPORTS

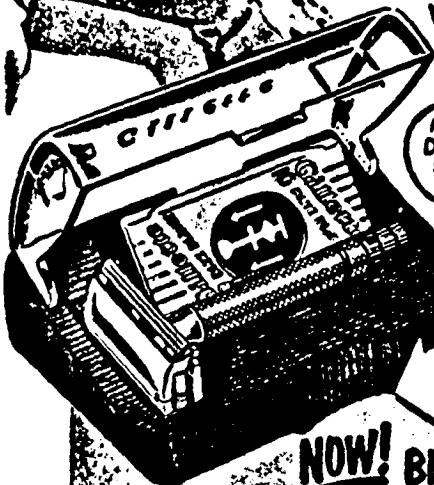
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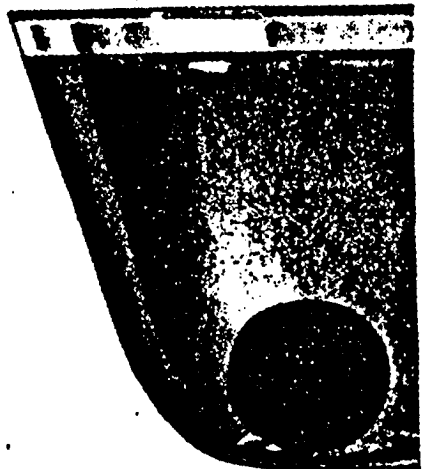
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hand-in-glove with the late Agnes Smedley, the bitter girl from Wyoming, turned newspaperwoman, turned Red spy. Sorge's work again was praised. Upon his recall to Moscow in January, 1935, he was elevated to the rank of lieutenant general.

In that same month Hitler seized power in Germany. A wave of terror began at once. Dragnet arrests practically paralyzed the German Communists. Most of their leaders and workers were denounced, arrested, tortured and killed.

In this situation Sorge made Moscow an extraordinary proposition. He proposed to re-enter Germany after an absence of eight years, there to pose as an ardent convert to Nazism. Using Nazism as his cover, he would then proceed to Japan to organize the first large communist spy ring in that country.

This plan was so dangerous that Red Army generals objected. They considered it certain suicide. General Sorge was too valuable to be risked. But by spring Sorge had finally convinced the Fourth Bureau and received the assignment. No communist had ever attempted to pull off such a feat. Its daring was one of the factors that helped bring it off.

A few Communists did work as agents inside Nazi organizations. But these men had been placed there years before Hitler took power and had no open records as Reds. Sorge's situation was totally different. He had been active as a revolutionary in Germany from 1919 until 1925. Hundreds of his former associates knew it. Undoubtedly many or even most of them had been arrested by the Nazis—and only one would have to squeal. In the years that he had been out of Germany, working for the Russians, he might easily have been spotted by German counter-espionage agents—at school in Moscow, during his Scandinavian and English trips, while in Shanghai. Moreover, he had written two books on communism while in Moscow. Both had been published under the imprint of the Soviet Government and both had been widely read in Germany. As the Nazis had scoured the shelves, not only of public libraries, but also of private homes for communist books, it would have been impossible for them to have missed either of his. Finally, he was re-entering Germany under his own name.

The odds appeared hopeless. Yet Sorge got away with it.

This is how it was done.

At the time, I was a Communist agent in Germany for Ignatz Reiss, then Chief of the OGPU (Communist secret police) for Western Europe. My job was to commute between Nazi Germany and Czechoslovakia, taking out German Communists who were on Gestapo death lists. As an American citizen, I could cross and re-cross the border with relative ease.

One day in Vienna, I think, Reiss told me that Sorge needed help.

"Didn't you tell me," asked Reiss, "that you know Dr. Max Geisenberg of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*?" That was the best newspaper in Germany, even under the Nazis.

"Yes."

The old days we had sometimes managed to get agents appointed as foreign correspondents of this distinguished newspaper. The editors, of course, didn't have any suspicion of their true role. Now, however, this was virtually impossible. The Nazis had reorganized the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and all our old avenues of approach were blocked. Fortunately, however, Dr. Max Geisenberg was a staunch German nationalist who had survived the purge. His friendship for me was entirely personal. He never suspected that I was a Communist.

I wrote a long friendly letter to Dr. Geisenberg, both introducing and recommending Sorge to him as a foreign correspondent. Actually Sorge had reasonable qualifications, if one didn't know his communist hue. He was able to tell the editor that he was an old China hand and that he had written a great deal about the Far East for several German magazines. As personal references, Sorge calmly rattled off an imposing list of some of the most prominent and conservative businessmen in the German colony in Shanghai. There is no doubt that Sorge knew them. In fact he had cultivated their friendships sedulously as unknowing sources of information when he was an agent in Shanghai. On the surface, everything Sorge said was so logical and sound that neither Reiss nor I were too greatly surprised when we heard that he had been appointed Tokyo correspondent of the paper.

Only one hurdle—the toughest of all—now remained. To pose convincingly as a Nazi, he would have to join the Party.

That meant a Gestapo check.

Sorge set to work carefully. He studied thoroughly all 781 pages of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* so that at the drop of a swastika he was able to spout and fume like the greatest Nazi of them all. He made friends with genuine Nazis and cagily went on the wagon for fear if he got drunk he might let out a slip. Finally he made the inevitable move; he wrote out an application for Nazi Party membership and signed his name.

The next step was up to the Gestapo. There was nothing Sorge could do but wait. His life hung on the flip of that application blank. If the Gestapo somehow missed and the application went through, Sorge's cover as a Soviet spy would be perfect: "Dr. Richard Sorge; pvt. German Army; student, Kiel University (1918); Doctor of Philosophy, Hamburg University (1920); Instructor, Frankfurt University (1925-25); Contributor, technical, financial and political magazines from China, 1929-1933; member, Nazi Party, 1933; Tokyo correspondent, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1935." Who would wonder whether this loyal, studious son of the *Vaterland* might be a Lieutenant General in the Red Army?

But what if a dossier, plainly marked "Sorge," lay in the Gestapo file? It would not make pretty reading: "Dr. Richard Sorge; pvt. German Army; Communist agitator, Kiel Naval Base, 1918; Communist agitator, Ruhr coal mines, 1920-22; Liaison Officer, Communist Party, Frankfurt, 1921-25; Student, Intelligence Section, Communist International, Mos-

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once the lowliest file clerk in the Gestapo read that, the sequence would be fast—arrest, concentration camp, torture, death.

The fact is, there was such a dossier. In the Gestapo files. Plainly marked, "Sorge."

Yet, nothing happened. The Gestapo countersigned the application and in a matter of days Sorge was a good Nazi.

There had been an ace in the hole. Moscow held it and played it when the pot was big enough. That ace was another Soviet agent who had been planted in the Gestapo. Sorge never knew his name, although he knew of his existence. At the crucial moment this agent had been available, temporarily, to remove all the incriminating evidence from the file on Sorge. More than that, he protected Sorge valiantly over the years. In 1939, when Sorge was made Press Attaché by Ambassador Ott, the Gestapo file was again checked—and Sorge was again spared.

With his newspaper credentials and Nazi Party card, Sorge serenely walked down the gangplank and into Japan in the summer of 1933. His orders, he wrote, were "to evaluate the political situation . . . to gather information concerning Japan's economy . . . to collect military information." To achieve these ends, Sorge had laid down certain wise precautions. He would have nothing to do with the Japanese Communist Party. He wanted no connections with the

Soviet Embassy (except in dire emergency). He needed assistants, but none were to be Russian. The Fourth Bureau of the Red Army agreed and orders went out to the undergrounds to recruit a flock of unsuspected assistants.

A curious migration of Communist birds now began all over the world. Quietly, they began winging their way toward Japan. One of the first queer ducks to be flushed was a tall, heavy-set Yugoslav, Branco de Voukelitch, then 28 and living in Paris. Part-artist, part-architect, part-bum, Voukelitch had worked for the electrical utility company in Paris and was a member of the Communist Party in France. One day Voukelitch was strolling down a boulevard when a Russian Communist, whose name he never knew, approached him. "Get ready to go abroad for an assignment," said the Russian and left. Shortly thereafter, three tickets for a steamer leaving Marseilles for Japan were dropped into Voukelitch's mailbox. Like Sorge, Voukelitch, accompanied by his wife and young child, had no trouble walking down the gangplank and into Nippon. For who could have guessed that Voukelitch was a spy when his credentials so genuinely proved that he was simply the new Tokyo correspondent of the French picture magazine, *Vue*, and the great Yugoslav daily, *Politika*?

At about the same time, 6,000 miles away in Los Angeles, another Red was being jumped from cover. Miyao Motoku, a penniless consumptive artist, had been

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born in Okinawa but moved to California. After art school in San Diego and farm work near Brawley, Miyagi had settled down to run the Owl Restaurant in Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo."

One day an East Indian Communist, known to Miyagi simply as Roy, dropped in for a cup of saki. "Get ready to go to Japan on an assignment," said Roy. He handed Miyagi \$200 for expenses and promised the artist-hash slinger that he would be back home within a month.

When Miyagi left, Roy gave him a dollar bill and called his attention to the serial number. "When you arrive in Tokyo," he explained, "watch the want ads in the *Japan Advertiser*. When a notice appears, WANT TO BUY UKI-YOE PRINTS, answer the ad and follow the instructions of the man you meet."

Miyagi arrived in the Japanese capital and began watching the ads. On December 14, 1933 the ad he was waiting for appeared. He answered and received instructions to go to the offices of the local advertising agency that had placed the ad. When Miyagi got there, a stranger came up to him and showed him a dollar bill. Miyagi then took out his dollar bill. The two men—who between them had circled half the earth to meet—compared bills and found they had consecutive serial numbers. Thus, Miyagi Yotoku met Branco de Voukelitch. A few days later Voukelitch took Miyagi to the Ueno art gallery where he introduced the Japanese-American Communist to Sorge.

Meanwhile, Sorge was personally picking his top aide. He chose Ozaki Hozumi, a 32-year-old Japanese journalist and politician, bright and well-connected, who was secretly a Communist, though never a party member—a Japanese edition of our own Alger Hiss. Sorge had known Ozaki since his Shanghai espionage days, Agnes Smedley having introduced them. The Doktor felt that Ozaki's intimate knowledge of Japanese politics and his friendship with Prince Konoye, a distant relative of the Emperor and a leading statesman, would prove valuable. Sorge was not to be disappointed.

Voukelitch, Miyagi, Ozaki—these men comprised the big three, working under Sorge, of the spy ring that eventually included nineteen others, all organized, directed and master-minded by the studious Tokyo correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. In preparation for their work and his, Sorge now went through a series of seemingly lost motions that on the surface made no sense. Instead of stealing documents and cracking safes, he browsed around art galleries and museums. Instead of mixing invisible inks, he became a master of Japanese cooking. Instead of buying a dagger or even a cloak, he purchased between 800 and 1,000 books on Japanese history, industry, art and religion and spent his spare time reading all of them. Week ends, when he wasn't reading or preparing a feast, he motorcycled or hiked over most of the Japanese islands. He met farmhands, fishermen, foresters, geisha girls. After a while he even found himself giving lectures on the subject of Japanese art to fellow-members of Ger-

This peculiar behavior continued his first two years in Tokyo. Then pay-off began. The relationship between paintings and battleships, and a knowledge of the Shinto religion and war proved more direct than anyone, Sorge, might have thought. By 1935 Sorge, through his staggering knowledge of all things Japanese, had established a name for himself as the brightest, best-informed foreigner around. It was the reputation he needed to carry out espionage. It enabled him to work on equal terms with the most important people in Japan. The more he knew, the more they told him. Conversation has always been a two-way street. "My search," he wrote later, "was absolutely necessary to my intelligence work in Moscow. Without this research and general cultural background, my espionage would have been impossible."

One of the men most impressed with the brilliance of this ardent Nazi newspaperman, was the assistant German military attaché, Lieutenant Colonel Eugène Ott. As Ott rose to the exalted status of Major General and Ambassador, his friendship with Sorge ripened. The scholarly Doktor's judgment was so accurate that the new Ambassador found his vice invaluable. (Moscow, via Sorge found the Ambassador's information even more valuable.) Imperceptibly, Ott slid into the habit of showing him official documents and discussing his work freely. Soon all the attachés, together with the Gestapo representative, Colonel Joseph Meisinger, followed suit. On Naval Attaché Wennecker was cool toward Sorge. He didn't like the chap.

Some idea of Sorge's self-control can be gathered from the fact that, although he lived and worked on intimate terms with these men for years and outran them night after night, not one ever suspected he knew a word of Russian.

By 1938, Sorge was so close to Ott that the Ambassador asked him to take time off from his newspaper work to visit Manila and Hong Kong on matters of interest to the German Foreign Office. The suggestion dovetailed so neatly with Sorge's own interests that he decided to kill two birds with one trip and run out secret microfilms for Moscow at the same time. He went to Klausen's and the contacted WIESBADEN to have a Russian courier meet Sorge in Hong Kong.

Sorge entered the designated restaurant in Hong Kong a few minutes after 10 o'clock. He sat down at the counter reached in his pocket and took out a pipe. He held it in his hand unlit. Another man entered the restaurant, sat down at the counter and took a long, black cigar from his pocket. He did not light it. Then Sorge lit his pipe. Immediately the other man lit his cigar. The Moscow courier left the restaurant. Sorge followed him to a park. The man stopped and Sorge closed up. "Greetings from Katcha," said the Russian. "Greeting from Gustav," replied Sorge, with which he handed over the microfilms.

When war broke out the next year and Ott wanted to add a press attaché to his staff, Sorge was naturally his choice. Thereafter Stalin's spy enjoyed the added

attaches were delighted. So was Sorge. So was Moscow.

Between conferences, breakfasts with the Ambassador and informal talks, Sorge knew and saw every German secret. At Ott's request, he was a party to the negotiations of the military alliance signed between Germany and Japan. Sometimes he even drafted dispatches to the Berlin Foreign Office for Ott's signature.

What's more, he was able to put the entire Embassy staff to work for Moscow without their ever realizing it. If Sorge was on his own at the Fourth Bureau's request needed more information on a particular topic, he simply called in the appropriate attaché and they dutifully went out and chased more information down for him.

Simultaneously, Ozaki, Sorge's chief assistant, was prying loose top secrets from the Japs. One of the reasons Sorge had placed so much promise in Ozaki was the latter's friendship with Prince Konoye and his even greater friendship with the Prince's two confidential secretaries. Between 1938 and 1941, Konoye was Prime Minister three times. As Unofficial Advisor to the Japanese Cabinet, he appointed Ozaki, who thereupon passed on to Sorge every cabinet secret he heard, memorized or could copy. Had they known it, the German Ambassador, the Japanese Prime Minister and the Japanese Cabinet might just as well have invited Stalin to sit with them.

In this work Ozaki was aided by a host of Japanese spies. He had close connections with, and at times worked for, the great South Manchurian Railway, which ran the new Japanese empire of Manchukuo, so located next to Siberia that it would necessarily serve as the springboard for any Japanese attack. With the help of thirty communist spies in Japanese Army intelligence organizations in Manchukuo, Ozaki had his finger on all troop movements, strong points and mobilization plans. Meanwhile, Miyagi, the Californian artist, had wormed his way into other military groups. He became the friend of the confidential secretary of General Ugaki, who was both Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary during this period. Posing as an ultraconservative nationalist, Miyagi picked up top-level cabinet secrets when Ugaki was in power. He got so many Jap officers drunk that he used to complain his work was turning him into an alcoholic.

Any items that Sorge, Ozaki or Miyagi missed were scooped up by Branco de Voukeltich. While Sorge was stripping the Germans clean, and Ozaki, Miyagi and their sub-agents were plucking the Japs, Voukeltich was taking the pants off the Americans, British, French and Dutch. As a French national and presumably a correspondent, he was welcome and unsuspected in Allied circles. Major General Piggott of the British Embassy, James M. Cox, a leading British newspaperman, and Eugene H. Dorman, Counselor of the American Embassy were all his friends.

With such coverage, Sorge couldn't miss. He sat on top of one of the most

spies ever built, evaluating all the material he received and funneling to the Kremlin only the best. For a while, he met his top agents at bars and restaurants—the Rheingold, Fledermaus, Lohmeyer's. Their meals raised no eyebrows since three of the group were journalists with common professional interests. Only after Japanese police scrutiny tightened in 1940 did they meet privately. Then meetings were usually held at night at Sorge's home after the ring's members adopted the customary practice of changing cabs at distant addresses and walking the rest of the way.

Among themselves, Sorge's assistants still sometimes met in eating places. They carried films, money or messages in half-empty cigaret cases. One would ask for a smoke. The giver of the information would simply hand over the entire package of cigarets. Ozaki and Miyagi had an even easier method. Mrs. Ozaki (who never knew what her husband was up to) wanted their daughter to have painting lessons at home. She asked her husband whether he could suggest a teacher. He thought for a moment and then said that, as a matter of fact, he did know a very good teacher, an artist, named Miyagi. So every Sunday Miyagi went to the Ozaki home to teach the daughter—and pass over secret information to the father.

Espionage is valueless, however, unless the information gets to the nation which wants it promptly, regularly and without interception. Sorge had three ways of reaching the Russians: radio, courier, and

A one-time Hamburg waterfront tough, Max Klausen, was the radioman and the only other German member of the ring. The son of a poor shopkeeper and bicycle repairman, Klausen had become a marine mechanic and a rugged organizer for the Communist Party on the Hamburg docks. In 1929 he had been sent by the Party to its radio school in Moscow. After assignments in China, he was sent to Japan to work for Sorge. Like his master, he also worked directly for the Fourth Bureau of the Red Army with the assimilated rank of major.

Once in Japan, Sorge found Klausen a cover. He set him up as founder and president of Max Klausen & Co., a machinery concern which made presses for printing blueprints. This lucrative business, not only served to give Klausen a legitimate reason for living in Tokyo, but also served as the channel through which Soviet funds flowed to the spy ring.

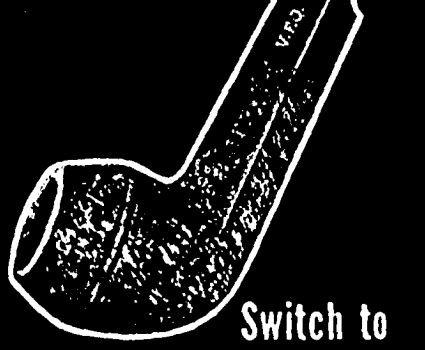
The Japanese Police report speaks with admiration of Klausen's technical ingenuity in building a radio transmitter so powerful that it could span 800 miles between Tokyo and Vladivostok with ease, and yet so small that it could be tucked away in a suitcase. "He had not brought any of the necessary materials and parts with him," says the report "but, with the exception of the transmitter key, he found everything he needed at the Mazda Lamp Shop and at other stores in the city dealing in radio parts."

Klausen chose densely inhabited parts of the city for radio communication, since this made direction-finding by Japanese

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<h3>IT SMOKES SWEET</h3>  <p style="text-align: center;">A MERRY SMOKE—<i>Sir Walter Raleigh!</i></p>	<h3>IT CAN'T BITE!</h3>  <p style="text-align: center;">SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S BLEND OF CHOICE KENTUCKY BURLEYS IS EXTRA-AGED TO GUARD AGAINST TONGUE BITE. THE LARGE SIZE CANISTER OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH—IN A BEAUTIFUL YULETIDE PACKAGE—MAKES THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS GIFT!</p>

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counterespionage difficult. His broadcasts were never intercepted. As further precaution, he used wooden houses because steel hampered transmission. During the war years alone, the ring broadcast:

1939	60 times	29,319 words
1940	60 times	29,179 words
1941	21 times	15,103 words

A clever cipher was used by the agents to notify Siberia when the next broadcast would take place. There is a famous German proverb, *Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde*, meaning roughly, "The early bird gets the worm." Written vertically in groups of three, the first twenty-one letters of this adage become:

Monday	MTT
Tuesday	OUG
Wednesday	RNO
Thursday	GDL
Friday	EED
Saturday	NHI
Sunday	SAM

Thus, if Sorge wished to broadcast the following Sunday, the key letter group S-A-M would be sent.

When information wasn't sent by radio, it was taken out of Japan by couriers who met their Soviet counterparts generally on the Asiatic mainland. "The place of the meeting, the time and the formal technical conditions were agreed upon by radio," Sorge confessed. "If the couriers were unknown to one another, special distinguishing signs, passwords and series of recognition phrases were decided by radio." Some meetings took place in a coffee shop in Shanghai. One courier would enter with a yellow package and be met by another courier carrying a red one. Other rendezvous were arranged at a small restaurant in Tokyo to which foreigners rarely came. The Soviet courier entered last, ordered a very special Japanese dish, and the man Sorge sent was to use this as an opening to begin a conversation, asking if the dish was sweet and saying that his friend "Paul" always ordered it too. The courier from Moscow then answered that he had heard of it from his friend "Jimmy." The two runners would then discuss delivery of the material.

The material sent consisted of rolls of microfilm taken with a Leica or Robot camera. Documents and reports were photographed almost immediately, sometimes by Sorge at the Embassy or in his home, mostly by Voukelich in the dark room he had built. The film was then rolled as tightly as possible because sometimes as many as 25 to 30 rolls of microfilm—easily 1,000 sheets—were sent. Max Klausen's wife, Anna, made the run to Shanghai four times with thirty to forty rolls tied to a belt wrapped beneath her breasts. She delivered these films to Soviet contacts whom she met at the Sun Sun Department Store, to the woman manager of a bookstore on Bubbling Well Road, in the lobby of the Cathay Hotel, and even on the sidewalk of the fashionable Avenue Haig. Each time she collected \$5,000 from the Russian messenger.

Actually, Moscow paid an absurdly small price for the invaluable information it received. The average cost was only \$8,000 a year—and for this the Kremlin got the harvestings of seventeen agents. The explanation is that only one member of the ring—a minor cog—was a mercenary. The others were spying for free out of devotion to Communism.

After 1939 and the outbreak of the war, it became too dangerous for members of the ring to travel to China. Reluctantly, Sorge asked Moscow to establish liaison between the Soviet Embassy and the network.

Shortly, Klausen, who maintained a four-hour vigil at the receiver, heard the "Wiesbaden" signal. Then the message in code: TWO TICKETS WITH HIGHER NUMBER FOR FRITZ. ONE WITH LOWER NUMBER FOR LIALSON MAN. "Fritz" was Klausen's code name. A few days later two tickets for a show at the Imperial Theater turned up in his mail.

for a stronger America...



fight  
crippling  
arthritis

Send  
Contributions  
To  
ARTHRITIS  
c/o POSTMASTER

## ARTHRITIS AND RHEUMATISM FOUNDATION

Taking his wife, Klausen went to the show and occupied the seat with the lower number. In the darkness he nudged the stranger sitting next to him and handed him thirty-eight cartridges of microfilm, containing Embassy documents stolen by Sorge. Risky business. Klausen felt relieved when the man handed him back a packet. When Klausen opened it after theater, he took out \$5,000 in cash.

The mysterious neighbor was Helge L. Vutokevitch, Soviet Counsel in Tokyo. The ring faced its supreme test in 1941, the summer of the great Nazi attack on Russia. Panzer and infantry divisions were slicing through Russia. They had already crushed the entire Southern Red Army Group. At Smolensk and Kiev alone, 600,000 Soviet prisoners were taken. As Stalin paced his Kremlin offices with his chiefs of staff, the future looked equally glum. America was not yet in the war. Lend-Lease to Russia at that time was a trickle. France had already been crushed. Japan and Italy were German allies. The British could not on their own launch a "second front"; they had all the Germans they could handle in Africa, in the air, on the sea.

There was one source—and one source only—of untapped strength that the Red Army could muster. In Siberia, some

troops were standing still. They could not be moved westward so long as there was a chance Japan would attack. For years there had been open talk that Japan, allied to Germany, would do just that. Now it was a matter of life and death to know Japan's true intentions. Not hearsay. Not gossip. Not newspaper or living-room talk. But the true and unalterable facts. Sorge was expected to provide that critical answer. A mistake in judgment by him might easily mean the noose for Stalin and curtains for the Soviet State.

In June, Ambassador Ott called a conference. Sorge was there. Flushed with news of great victories in Russia, the German officials expressed confidence that their Japanese ally would take advantage of Russia's weakness to pounce on Siberia and thus sew up the Second World War. Only Wennecker, the Naval Attaché, thought otherwise. He felt the Japs would move south—toward Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines. Sorge reported the conference to Stalin by radio, stating that in his opinion Wennecker was right.

By July Japanese enthusiasm for Siberian conquest was beginning to wane. Through Ozaki, Sorge learned that Emperor Hirohito had called an extraordinary and secret conference from the Throne at which the Emperor indicated Japan would push southward—but would also prepare to attack Russia when an even better opportunity arose. In the same month Sorge informed Moscow that General Tojo, Minister of War, was interested only in southward expansion. He added that Prince Konoye had formed a new cabinet to negotiate with America. He did not know for certain (despite recent newspaper reports) that these negotiations would serve to camouflage an intended attack on Pearl Harbor, but he did know that whatever negotiations ensued, he would be able to keep Stalin well posted.

Japanese general mobilization now began in the hot summer months. The Empire was preparing for war, but it was far from certain in which direction its forces would strike. Meanwhile the Germans slashed deeper into Russia. Kharkov fell. Leningrad was besieged. The Crimea was cut off. Moscow itself was in danger; the diplomatic corps had already left. Red Russia was being bled white—while fresh troops in Siberia had to be held inarrison against a possible Japanese attack.

In August, Sorge had an interesting talk at the Embassy with Wennecker. The Naval Attaché had just learned that the Japanese Navy had enough oil reserves for two years, the Army for six months, the civilian economy for half a year. This was important news. It meant that the Navy was ready to strike, but that any major land invasion was out of the question. Wennecker thought—and Sorge agreed—that the Navy would thrust southward the oilfields of Sumatra and Borneo. Four months later this happened. By the end of the month, Sorge was able to radio: "At the end of the mobilization, approximately thirty divisions

the case of the

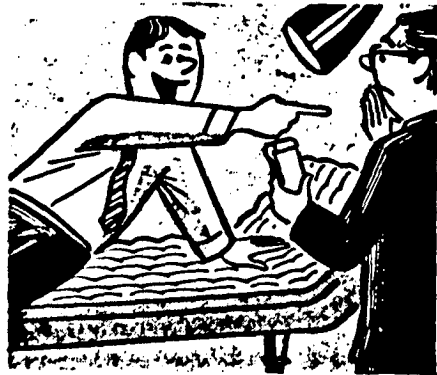
# Squirming Psychoanalyst



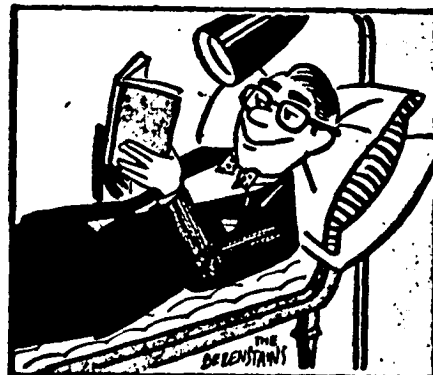
This patient came to me obviously upset. So I got him relaxed, then sat down in my chair, took out my pad and pencil, crossed my legs and started questioning him. In a few minutes, I uncrossed my legs, twisted around in my chair, gave my trousers a yank and started probing again.



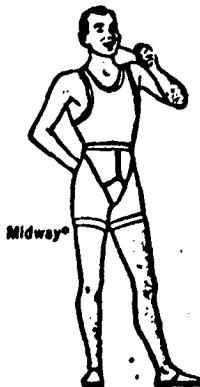
He answered carefully but glanced thoughtfully at me. I started on another tack, crossed my legs, turned sideways in my chair. At which he said: "Doc... I should be squirming, not you. What's the matter?" "This underwear," I said. "It bunches, binds, creeps, crawls. Can't sit still."



"My prescription," he said gleefully, "is to switch to Jockey brand Underwear. It fits snug and smooth, moves as you move, never bunches or binds. And it gives you real he-man support. Largest selling knit underwear in the world... and the finest." Naturally, I thanked him.



And I switched to Jockey. Bought Jockey Midway because it's perfect for everyday wear, especially in an office. And I haven't squirmed since! I can't say enough for that Jockey comfort. My patient? Oh, he was so happy solving my problems, it solved his. Cost me a patient but it was worth it!

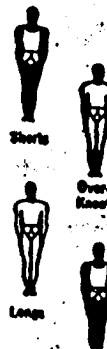


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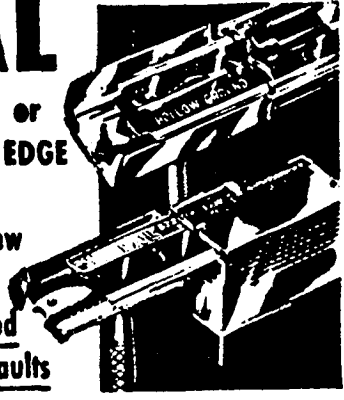
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...corresponds to one third of the new mobilized forces. The divisions were sent out after 15 August, which means that it is too late to start a war against Siberia before winter. Therefore, Japan will not fight Russia, but will challenge America and England to the south."

Having reached this conclusion, Sorge began to hammer the point home. In September, he passed on the word that the Navy had completed its preparations, but that the blow would be delayed because the Army was not ready. To mask the planned southward invasion, he reported, Prince Konoye was going to open "peace talks" with the United States.

On October 15, Sorge filed his last dispatch. Triumphantly, he reported: Japan has definitely decided to move south. All danger to the Soviet Union has passed.

He had accomplished his mission. The Kremlin now acted without further delay. Fresh divisions from Siberia were loaded onto trains and shuttled thousands of miles to build-up areas behind Moscow. On December 6—the day before Pearl Harbor—Nazi patrols entered the suburbs of communism's Mecca and got to within seven miles of Red Square. Hitler was elated; he would have Moscow and crush Russia before the worst of the winter set in. His elation did not last long. This was the high-water mark of the German armies throughout the entire war. Two days later, on December 8, the Russian armies on the Moscow front, reinforced with Siberian corps, counterattacked and drove the Nazis back. The Germans never

again came as close to winning the war. After sending the historic October message, Sorge felt that his work was done. He had devoted twenty-three years to the revolution, most of them at the risk of his neck. Now, having reached 49 and having performed his greatest assignment with conspicuous success, he wanted to return to Moscow and enjoy the fruits of his labor. His mother, whom he was deeply attached, lived in Russia. The government had already given him a fine home, befitting his general's rank. So once again he cycled Klausen's and climbed the staircase to the broadcasting room. Once again he sat down with the *German Statistical Yearbook* and enciphered a message. It was a request for recall to Moscow. But the message was never sent. Klausen talked him out of it, arguing that there was still work for them to do in Japan.

There was one bit of information after eight years that neither Sorge nor his accomplices knew. The police had found a weak link in the spy ring.

A few months earlier, the police had arrested Ritsu, a Japanese Communist ordered by Moscow to revive the shattered, illegal party. One of the people from whom Ritsu sought help was a middle-aged seamstress and former Communist, Kitabayashi Tome. She flatly refused. She told him she had renounced Communism and had become an ardent member of the Women's Christian Temperance Society and the Seventh Day Adventists. This was true. Yet, for some obscure reason, the seamstress was pass



"I'm looking for the sergeant I talked out of a speeding ticket on the Forest Parkway."

Miyagi of the Sorge ring. Although she did not tell Ritsu, she had been strictly ordered by Miyagi, following one of Sorge's main principles, to have nothing to do with the Japanese Communists.

In the hands of the police, Ritsu was treated, as the official reports politely put it, "severely." He confessed and renounced Communism. This renunciation was utterly false—he is today one of the leading lights of the Japanese Party. He squealed to save his own skin and, having confessed, he figured he would be let off lightly if he denounced a few other people whom he had no particular reason to like. He, therefore, told the police that the little seamstress was a Communist.

When the police plunked her into jail, she promptly confessed and named Miyagi. On October 10, the house of the Japanese-American artist was raided. In his excitement Miyagi made the fatal mistake of trying to kill himself. From his attempted suicide the police reasoned that Miyagi must be guilty of some much more important crime than they so far had any reason to expect.

While Miyagi was singing, the police used his house to mouse-trap any visitors. On the 14th, one came. The police were more than surprised when they saw that the visitor was no less a personage than the Unofficial Advisor of the Japanese Cabinet. Ozaki was arrested the moment he pressed the bell.

Sorge still didn't know about these events, but he began to worry when both Ozaki and Miyagi failed to show up for a meeting the next day. He talked matters over with Klausen and they decided to wait until they had a clearer understanding of the picture. The answer was not long delayed. On the 17th, Klausen spotted an officer of the Special Higher Section of the Metropolitan Police loitering near his house. Was it accidental? Klausen considered burning his documents and burying the radio in his garden, but finally decided once again to wait. He spent a restless night and what little sleep he got was abruptly ended near dawn when the police walked in and arrested him in bed. Sorge and Vouklitch were nabbed in their homes at the same time.

Neither the Japanese public nor press were given an inkling of the major scandal that had befallen Japan, but the German Embassy knew soon enough when the police arrived to press their investigations. Ambassador Ott blustered and blushed when informed that his Press Attaché and good friend had been jailed as a communist spy. He refused to believe it and supposed that the Japanese police had committed another of the blunders for which they were famous. He set to work hard to get Sorge released, but this time the Japanese were adamant. They stuck to the story that they had uncovered the most dangerous spy ring in the history of Japan. Also, there was always that disturbing question: what if the police were right? If by some freak chance Sorge, the good Nazi, was really a spy, where did that leave Ambassador Ott?

To cover himself Ott sent a brief report of Sorge's arrest to Berlin, minimizing



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his... relationship with... Berlin let the matter rest. But after the turn of the year, an agent of German counterintelligence stationed in Harbin, China, got wind of the scandal from his Tokyo contact and passed the bad news along to Berlin. Only then, three months after Sorge's arrest, did the German Government beat its chest. Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop sent Ott a sharp message demanding more details. The Gestapo raced for its files. This time the Soviet agent in the Gestapo had no advance warning and so for the first time the startled Gestapo read the full and completely negative dossier on Sorge—eight years too late.

Ott was sacked and his career was ruined. Since he could not very well get back to Germany through the British blockade, he was sent to Peiping to sit out the war. Today he is living in retirement in Germany.

After exceptionally fair hearings, the various members of the ring were brought to trial, separately and in secret. Only the briefest mention of the case was finally released to the Japanese public in May, 1942, and although the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in Washington last fall heard Sorge mentioned briefly, this is the first time the full story has ever been told.

Sentences were handed down by the Tokyo District Court in September, 1943. Of the thirty-three men and two women on trial, seventeen, including Anna Klausen and the seamstress, were found guilty. The women got three and five years respectively, but were later released when the Americans arrived. Miyagi, who had left California eight years before "for a month," never had to be sentenced. He died during the trial. Voukeltich and Klausen got life. But the fates in both cases intervened. The French camera enthusiast died in his cell in 1945 and the German radioman was released by the

9, 1945. It is not reassuring to report that the present whereabouts of this life-long spy are "unknown."

Two were hanged: Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hozumi. The Cabinet Advisor had always known that the end would be death, but now that he was facing up to it and abandoning a family he loved, his conscience plagued him. From prison he wrote a series of moving love letters to his wife. Published in postwar Japan under the title, *Love Was Like A Falling Star*, they became a best-seller.

When all around him, his assistants were talking freely, Sorge, too, confessed. The executions were on November 7, 1944.

Ozaki went first. As he entered the death house, he was permitted to pause before the taper-lit, golden altar of the Amidha Buddha. The condemned man sipped tea and ate rice cakes while the chief chaplain intoned. Then he closed his eyes and sniffed incense, as the chaplain continued. In the death chamber, he recited the Buddhist ritual for spiritual comfort twice and at 0935, without further ceremony, the trap was sprung beneath his feet. Eighteen minutes later he was officially declared dead.

Ozaki's body had scarcely been unloosened from the noose, when Sorge received his final, solemn call from the prison governor. The governor stood before him and went through the formality of asking him his name and age. He told Sorge he was expected to die calmly. Then he asked the condemned man whether he had any remarks, Sorge said only, "I thank you for all your kindnesses." Then he was led away.

So ended Dr. Richard Sorge, a German, a Communist, a doctor of philosophy, a coal miner, an art critic, a lieutenant general, and an amazingly successful Soviet spy.—Hede Massing

100-124002-495

TRUE MAGAZINE

FRANK O'NEAL

"Mother's sorry she ran over your tricycle, but what on earth was it doing in the garden?"

Ram

ramp other, Agair they ramp that event Th peneidred a wo youth, there she y "B to ea out c takes clare-been with also) Y tion and was for a that Caro Nor "N" prol but knev goin just T mon rifle a lit to M truc The they also on I T ther ever hav has tha ma day bec F bec box Ca Sor bil tra fro Bl: pic the be the fev Tl eg all

## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

Pg 27

FILE NO: See ReferencesRE: Alger HissDATE March, 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
100-183386-1287	5/7/56	memo Belmont to BOARDMAN w/ENCL.	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
121-0-1981	12/2/48	memo Ladd to the Director	1	1	(b)(2)
62-77787-5044	1/10/64	SAN FRANCISCO Teletype	2	1	N.P.
100-170842-15	8/31/51	New HAVEN Letter	3	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
121-23983-92	5/2/57	memo Nichols to Belmont w/ENCL	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
100-138754-903	10/19/51	WFO Letter w/ENCL	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
100-424770-38	4/11/51	Chicago Report	11	4	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
124-2295-15	2/15/49	WFO Report	14	5	N.P. (b)(2) (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
62-81580-43	2/20/51	Los Angeles Teletype	2	1	N.P.
100-124002-501	8/28/51	WFO Letter w/ENCL.	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
			33	13	

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: December 2, 1948

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: WILLIAM LUYK VANDURY  
Consultant - Appointee  
Department of the Army  
Washington, D. C.  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

The loyalty form of the captioned individual has been received. A review of the Bureau files reflects that Alger Hiss contacted Vandury in January of 1947, in efforts to assist in placing a Jewish veteran friend in medical school. On February 24, 1947, Hiss contacted Vandury as a possible deputy to Austin (probably Warren Austin) on Atomic Energy and Disarmament. Vandury indicated that he did not want the position. [redacted] technical surveillance on Alger Hiss) (65-54402-1-120)

From the information available in connection with these contacts it appears that Hiss and Vandury are very friendly in 1947. [redacted] (65-54402-1200)

The deposition of Wittaker Chambers in the civil proceedings in the case of Alger Hiss vs. Whittaker Chambers, U. S. District Court of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland, a copy of which is presently available in the Bureau, reflects that Vandury is principal attorney for Hiss in this action.

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, the loyalty form of Vandury will be returned to the Civil Service Commission stamped "No Disposal Data FBI Files". However, it is believed that we should advise the Army through liaison channels of the association between Vandury and Hiss.

*J. Edgar Hoover*

*Approved*

121-0-1981

5-79mm

56 MAR 9 1949

best copy available

1/10/64

*mgf* SAN FRANCISCO INDICES REFLECT NO REFERENCE TO INFORMATION HAVING  
BEEN FURNISHED TO NELSON ROCKEFELLER REGARDING ALGER HISS. U.S.A.

726

62-77787-5044

1

8/31/51

[REDACTED] advised that looking back on the events of the past, he does not now feel that the Communist Party was the proper vehicle for bringing about the various social reforms which he thought were desirable. He stated that he felt ALGER HISS and the Communist Party were guilty and that if the Communist Party was trying to subvert the Government of the United States on one hand, while ostensibly championing the causes of the "under-dog" on the other, then it must bear the brunt of the national disgrace it had brought upon itself.

100-170842-15

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

17961

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO**

FILE NO. **100-12209**

REPORT MADE AT <b>CHICAGO, ILLINOIS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4/11/51</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/23; 3/1, 10, 29/51</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JULIAN R. WALTERS JRW:lh</b>
TITLE <b>ALBERT GOLDMAN, Was, A. Verblin, M. Morrison</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

*Rel* [redacted] advised in interview on 3/1/51 that he does not have any evidence or proof that **WILLIAM REMINGTON** was a Communist Party member, nor does he have any evidence or proof that **ALGER HISS** was a GPU agent, or that he still may be a CP member. [redacted] advised that these statements were based on his own personal opinions.

*C-4-1  
C-7-1  
10-1  
7-2-10  
1-1-10*

*De Dady  
Bauer*

*100-424790-38*

**DETAILS:**

[redacted]

[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>J.R. Walters</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
<b>COPY IN FILE</b>	RECEIVED	RECORDED - 19
3 - Bureau (100-2031) 1 - New York (Information) (100-50969) 1 - Chicago	APR 13 1951 RECEIVED APR 12 1951	INDEXED - 19
150 MAY 20 1951 770	10 02 41 21	SECT.



4/11/51

CGO 100-12209

[REDACTED]

BASIS FOR STATEMENTS REGARDING  
ALGER HISS AND WILLIAM REMINGTON v.s.

ALGER HISS

W

On February 23, 1951, when contacted concerning another investigation, [REDACTED] advised Special Agent EDWARD V. DAILEY and the writer that ALGER HISS was a GPU agent and that he still may be a member of the Communist Party. [REDACTED] also advised that he was acquainted with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS and that on occasions had had discussions with him concerning the Communist Party.

[REDACTED]

OS

[REDACTED]

He advised that he may have met WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in 1936 or 1937, and that at the time of LEON TROTSKY'S murder, CHAMBERS tried to advise the Socialist Workers Party of TROTSKY'S murder by way of a third person, whom [REDACTED] did not know. He advised that it was common knowledge that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS was a Communist although he had no documentary evidence to prove it. He advised that because of his general knowledge regarding CHAMBERS being a Communist, when CHAMBERS testified that HISS was a Communist Party member he had not doubted CHAMBERS' story. He advised that when HISS denied ever having been a Communist Party member, [REDACTED] stated he felt that HISS had denied this fact because of attempting to hide something more than membership in the Communist Party. He stated that HISS' denial of his Communist Party membership had forced CHAMBERS to furnish additional information concerning HISS, which information was that HISS was a GPU agent.

Rel

100-424770-38

CGO 100-12209

4/11/51

red

██████████ felt that when CHAMBERS gave his original information concerning HISS, he was giving HISS a chance to admit his Communist Party membership, break with the GPU and forget his past affiliations. ██████████ stated that because HISS, in his original statement, denied being a Communist Party member he was then forced to continue lying to cover his original lie. ██████████ who does not have any documentary evidence concerning his statements about HISS, advised that his statements were based solely on his own personal opinions. ██████████ advised that because HISS had originally denied Communist Party membership, he felt HISS was attempting to hide the fact that he was a GPU agent, and possibly still a Communist Party member.

#### WILLIAM REMINGTON

On February 23, 1951, ██████████ advised Special Agent EDWARD V. DAILEY and the writer, in an interview in regard to another investigation, that WILLIAM REMINGTON was a member of the Communist Party.

Because of the general knowledge that CHAMBERS was a Communist Party member, ██████████ felt certain that CHAMBERS was correct in his allegation. ██████████ advised that his statement regarding REMINGTON'S Communist Party membership was based entirely upon CHAMBERS' testimony and his own personal opinions through following the case. He advised he had no documentary evidence or proof that REMINGTON was a Communist Party member.

#### WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

It is to be noted that when ██████████ was interviewed on February 23, 1951, in regard to another investigation, by Special Agent EDWARD V. DAILEY and the writer, he advised he was acquainted with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS and had had discussions with him concerning the Communist Party. It is to be further noted that on March 1, 1951, he advised Special Agent HORACE H. WILLIS and the writer that he may have met CHAMBERS in 1936 or 1937, but that he actually knew of CHAMBERS through a third person, whose name he did not remember.

100-424770-38

4/11/51

CGO 100-12209

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

██████████ requested that his identity be kept confidential in regard to any information he furnished or may furnish in the future.

One copy of this report is being designated for the New York Office since individuals who resided in that Division are mentioned in this report.

REFERENCE: Butel to Chicago, dated 2/27/51.  
Chicago teletype to the Bureau, dated 2/23/51  
and 3/2/51.

100-424770-38

[redacted] Washington Informants T-2  
and T-3 of unquestioned reliability advised that  
the applicant has been in social and business  
contact with ALGER HISS.

124-2295-15

124-2295-15

Employment records further reflect that the applicant served under the direct supervision of ALGER HISS who is presently under indictment by the New York Grand Jury on two counts of perjury. This indictment was handed down on December 15, 1948.

desired to point out that at one time [REDACTED] was under the direct supervision of ALGER HISS and when HISS was indicted by a New York Grand Jury for perjury, [REDACTED] asked his [REDACTED] advice as to whether he should contribute to the defense fund being solicited for HISS. [REDACTED] did not divulge the nature of his reply to [REDACTED] but pointed out that a question existed in the applicant's mind as to whether it would be correct in view of his Federal employment to support HISS in a financial manner. [REDACTED] stated that he could furnish no further information regarding the applicant's association with ALGER HISS.

124-2295-15

*Cut out  
to  
change*

T-1 went on to say that [redacted] and what he (T-1) described as the "DEAN ACHESON, FRANKFURTER and ALGER HISS axis" controlled the policy of the State Department regarding the admittance of communists and fellow travellers to the United States under the guise of the United Nations. T-1 indicated that the above mentioned group even went so far as to circumvent established State Department policies to permit entry of these individuals.

*Cut out*

T-1 described the "DEAN ACHESON, FRANKFURTER, ALGER HISS axis" as a group of individuals who have banded together to further their own gains and control policy both within the State Department and in other government agencies. According to T-1, some of these individuals are no longer associated with the State Department; however their influence is still felt.

*delete*

The above, according to T-1, is an example of the influence that this "axis" can exert. According to T-1, the relationship between ALGER HISS and the applicant was purely a supervisor and employee contact and to his knowledge, there was no other contact between these two individuals that would not be to the best interests of the United States.

It is desired to point out that Washington T-2 and T-3, both of unquestioned reliability, advised that in 1945 and 1947 the applicant was in social and business contact with ALGER HISS.

124-2295-15

2/15/49

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

[REDACTED]

T-2 - Contact with ALGER HISS as reported in the report of Special Agent Floyd L. Jones dated December 18, 1945 at Washington, D.C. entitled NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, et al, Espionage R, Bureau file 65-56402.

[REDACTED]

124-2295-15



2/20/51

IN FEB NINETEEN FIFTY ONE ISSUE OF NATIONAL WAGE EAR-  
NER, OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE WAGE EARNERS COMMITTEE OF THE USA, INC.,  
THERE IS CONTAINED AN ARTICLE QUOTE DEATH SENTENCE IS JUSTIFIED UNQUOTE  
BY GREGORY BERN. AUTHOR CALLS UPON CONGRESS TO ESTABLISH SPECIAL TRIB-  
UNAL TO TRY SOVIET COLLABORATORS AMONG THE HIGH OFFICIALS IN THE NEW  
DEAL ADMINISTRATION. BERN SUGGESTS FIRST GROUP TO BE TRIED FOR  
CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES SHOULD INCLUDE AVERILL  
HARRIMAN, ALGER HISS, DEAN ACHESON, JOHN CARTER VINCENT, DEAN RUSK,  
PHILLIP KESSUP, WALTON BUTTERWORTH, JOHN MUCCIO, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, AND  
FELIX FRANKFURTER.

8-1  
2-90289

62-81580-43

1

INVENTORY WORKSHEET

FILE NO: See References

RE: Alger Hiss

DATE March 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
100-138754-815	5/18/51	Los Angeles Report	38	4	N.P.
124-2768-3	3/30/49	New York Report	8	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
124-1252-7	9/23/48	WFO Report	17	9	N.P. (b)(2) (b)(7)(D)
105-13893-473	5/8/53	WFO Letter	2	2	—
124-1252-10	9/21/48	Philadelphia Teletype	1	1	N.P.
105-13893-464	5/8/53	mem Belmont to Ladd	1	1	—
62-77787-4814	3/30/56	memo Belmont to Boardman w/enc1	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
121-34328-2	10/2/51	WFO Letter w/enc1.	5	3	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
121-34328-2	11/9/51	Letter to WFO from the Director, FBI	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
97-4196-34-38	7/21/61	New York Letter w/enc1.	55	0	(b)(1) ✓
			128	22	

5/18/51

The main speaker on this occasion was Mr. MYRON C. FAGAN, who is the National Director of the Guild. In his speech he said that at the close of the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the fall of 1947, the Committee had stated that there would be no more hearings on Hollywood. FAGAN congratulated the Guild members for their excellent work in bringing about the reopening of the hearings and the present sessions being held by HCUA, which he attributed to the numerous letters by the Guild members to their Congressmen urging the reopening of the hearings. FAGAN implied that he had a working alliance with Mr. FULTON LEWIS, JR. (the well known radio commentator), and that there was an exchange of information.

FAGAN went into great detail regarding the production of his new anti-Communist film, "Operation Survival." This picture, according to FAGAN, was made at the specific request of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and was directed and narrated by FAGAN. It may be noted, however, that T-1 advises that the Veterans of Foreign Wars have since repudiated the film, and claimed they had nothing to do with its sponsorship or production. T-1 advises that, according to FAGAN at the Guild meeting on May 3, 1951, the picture was produced by one SAVINI (phonetic) of Astor Pictures in New York. SAVINI obtained the documentary newsreels interspersed throughout the film.

The picture was furnished in its rough state on February 26, 1951, and was scheduled for its premiere in San Francisco, California on March 29, 1951. FAGAN said that the premiere did not take place because some of the "ROOSEVELT lovers" did not like it for the reason that it was anti-Semitic, anti-ROOSEVELT, and further because at

100-138754-815

5/18/51

[REDACTED]

the time it was produced the ALGER HISS case had not been decided. It was stated that if HISS should be acquitted, the impact of the picture would be considerably lessened. FAGAN said that since the Veterans of Foreign Wars were now undecided on the picture, he wanted the Cinema Educational Guild to help in its production. In order that all members of the Guild might participate in decisions necessary in the production of the film, FAGAN passed out ballots to all persons attending the meeting. This ballot read:

"'Operation Survival' was produced at the urgent request of CHARLES C. RAWLS, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and his Special Aide de Camp, DOWNS. They had a complete manuscript a full week before it went before the camera. Mr. RAWLS is in the picture as its most important character. He was on the set throughout the film--as was Mr. DOWNS. Both had full opportunity in advance to reject any scenes they considered undesirable. They made no such demands. On the contrary, both stated that this film is the one terrific instrument to destroy Communism in America, but when they showed it to their committee (approximately sixty people), a horrified cry arose from many of them that this film places the responsibility for the infiltration of Communism into the United States and the present state of our nation on the Administration for the past twenty years. The reactions of the 'ROOSEVELT worshippers', and the New Deal and Fair Deal Democrats among the sixty odd VFW officials to what they saw in 'Operation Survival' emphasizes their dread of a film or a play which exposes the machinations of the ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN Administrations.

"Editorials, magazine articles, books, etc. are read and more or less forgotten. As Mr. RAWLS expressed it 'Reading your statements in cold print was effective

5/18/51

[REDACTED]

enough, but the impact of seeing it on the screen was truly frightening.' Therein lies our strength! The Hollywood mobilos have muzzled and silenced all in the film industry who would like to produce films to show the truth. All the top producers of stage plays are either Reds or have been terrorized into refusing to produce plays that expose the truth, but the Cinema Educational Guild has the talent and capability of doing both fully, as well as those who control both mediums; and we have a plan all worked out to accomplish it--all over the United States. The following are the scenes which they specifically demanded to be deleted: Kindly mark 'yes' or 'no' if you feel that the various scenes should, or should not be deleted."

The ballot contains a brief description of seven scenes in the film "Operation Survival", and requested the audience to answer 'yes' or 'no' relative to their retention or deletion from the film. These scenes are identified on the ballot as follows:

- "(1) The first F.D.R. scene and the statement that he granted recognition to Moscow in 1933, and thus opened our gates to Communism.
- (2) ELEANOR ROOSEVELT addressing a group of the Young Communist League--and statement that she forced the Immigration Department to admit HANS FISLER.
- (3) ROOSEVELT at Cairo.
- (4) ROOSEVELT at Teheran.
- (5) ROOSEVELT and ALGER HISS at Yalta.
- (6) TRUMAN's picture and prayer for a new leader.
- (7) General MARSHALL's scene with CHIANG KAI-SHEK."

T-1, who had an opportunity to observe the film, advises in connection with the above-described scenes that they purport to be as described, but that actually there is nothing other than the commentary which accompanies the

5/18/51

[REDACTED]

film to substantiate the circumstances implied in the scenes. For example, in the scene which purports to show F.D.R. signing the recognition of Russia, it is clearly former President ROOSEVELT who appears in the scene, but whether he is actually signing the official agreement recognizing the U.S.S.R. cannot be told from the scene itself but is so described by the commentary. Furthermore, while the film does show Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT addressing a group of young people, it is the accompanying commentary which describes the group as a group of young Communist Leaguers..

T-1 advised that the film itself runs 120 minutes, and that the commentary which accompanies the film on the sound track was done by Mr. MYRON C. FAGAN himself. The general theme of the picture purports to show the Government pampering of Communists in the United States and the appeasement of STALIN during the ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN regimes in the United States. The film tells of the formation of the Communist Party in the United States, the Communist methods of causing internal strife, and the pitting of race against race. To emphasize this, the picture shows scenes of race wars in the United States, as well as the Communist methods of breeding dissatisfaction in the United States.

Former President ROOSEVELT is shown to be a sick man at Yalta, and ALGER HISS as "running the show." The picture was critical of General GEORGE MARSHALL's "selling out" to the Chinese Communists. Mr. ROOSEVELT's recognition of Russia is shown, as well as scenes of the Spanish Civil War.

100-138754-815

3/30/49

NY 124-1550

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

T-4 further stated the following conference took place between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on May 14, 1947:

[REDACTED] asked [REDACTED] for information concerning "HISS" whom she described as having been in the State Department, a lawyer, and a former secretary of OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES and who was at that time employed by the Carnegie Foundation. She stated that she wanted to know what HISS' policy was. According to the informant, [REDACTED] answered that he did not feel he could answer these questions about HISS unless [REDACTED] explained the reason for her interest. She allegedly refused to explain other than that it was for private reasons. It should be noted that ALGER HISS, who was named by ELIZABETH BENTLEY as a member of a Communist Party apparatus operating in Government circles during World War II, is a lawyer, formerly employed in the State Department, and was at that time employed by the Carnegie Foundation.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

9/23/48

FOOTE's wife is a  
niece of Mrs. ALGER HISS and according  
to confidential informants, the  
applicant and his wife have visited  
with Mr. and Mrs. ALGER HISS on  
occasions from 1945 to 1947.

124-1252-7



9/23/48

stated that ALGER HISS was also on his Committee but it was his recollection that HISS came with the Committee after the applicant. [REDACTED] also advised that he was under the impression that MOORE's wife was related to the wife of ALGER HISS. However, he did not know the exact relationship. [REDACTED] also advised that while the applicant and ALGER HISS were on his Committee, he could not recall that they were particularly close or intimate with each other.

Washington Confidential Informant T-1, a former member of the Communist Party of established reliability who has furnished considerable information to the FBI, advised that ALGER HISS was involved in a Soviet Espionage conspiracy in Washington, D.C. in the early 1940's and that he was an associate of Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers.

Washington Confidential Informant T-2, a former member of the Communist Party and formerly ~~on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker and New Masses~~, advised that ALGER HISS was a member of the Communist Party Underground in the late 1930's in Washington, D.C.

124-1252-7

9/23/48

In this memorandum, GOLD advised that ALGER HISS who was then assistant to the head of the Office of the Adviser on Political Relations in the State Department, had been consulted regarding the training, experiences and potentialities of MOORE and had commented favorably concerning the applicant.

124-1252-7

9/23/48

██████████ stated that MOORE's wife MARGOT was the niece of Mrs. ALGER HISS.

It was ██████████ belief that the applicant had not seen ALGER HISS since the newspaper publicity regarding HISS due to MOORE's being on vacation. ██████████ advised that he had discussed the case of ALGER HISS with MOORE and that MOORE could not understand the accusations about ALGER HISS as the publicity concerning him was inconsistent with what ALGER HISS had done in the State Department.

██████████ advised that he did not know the extent of the contacts between the MOORE and the HISS family but had formed the opinion that they were normal relations.

124-1252-7

9/23/48

The informant stated that the applicant had advised him that his wife was the niece of Mrs. ALGER HISS. The informant advised that when the newspaper publicity came out about ALGER HISS the applicant had told him of his wife's relationship with Mrs. ALGER HISS and had talked to him regarding ALGER HISS. The informant advised that the applicant told him that he had known ALGER HISS when both he and HISS were on the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Munitions Industry also known as the Nye Committee and the applicant had told him that he and his wife had seen Mr. and Mrs. ALGER HISS on several occasions. The informant also advised that MOORE seemed to think that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS' accusations against ALGER HISS were not accurate. The informant advised that the applicant told him that ALGER HISS was a great advocate of peace. The informant advised that he knew that MOORE did not come into the State Department through any help from ALGER HISS, and although he did not know the extent of the

124-1252-7

9/23/48

association between the applicant and ALGER HISS, believed  
it was just a normal one of persons who are related.

124-1252-7

9/23/48

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

. It was this statement that made  
[REDACTED] believe that ELIZABETH THOMPSON was the secretary  
of ALGER HISS although she could furnish no information  
to support this statement. [REDACTED] advised that she  
did not know of any connection between the applicant and  
ALGER HISS and advised that if they had frequent contact  
she would not have known it as ALGER HISS was not known  
to her. /

124-1252-7

9/23/48

Washington Confidential Informant T-9 of known reliability who is familiar with the affairs and contacts of ALGER HISS, advised that the applicant and his wife visited at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. ALGER HISS on occasions from the latter part of 1945 to the early part of 1947. The exact nature of these visits was not know to the informant.

124-1252-7

WFO 121-5870

9/23/48

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

T-1 - Informant GREGORY in the matter "NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, was. et al, Espionage R" (Bureau File 65-56402).

T-2 - WHITAKER CHAMBERS, an editor of Time Magazine.

[REDACTED]

124-1252-7



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: May 8, 1953

FROM: *R.H.* SAC, WFO (105-1607)

SUBJECT: INFILTRATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
BY SUBVERSIVE AMERICAN CITIZENS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

KEATING COMMITTEE HEARINGS, MAY 8, 1953,  
ROOM 346, OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
(WFO 62-6171)

*D.C.*

The above committee was called to order at 10:15 A.M. by Chairman KENNETH B. KEATING, at which time Mr. ROBERT A. COLLIER, Counsel of the above committee, placed in the record a handwritten letter received from ALGER HISS dated April 8, 1953, addressed to Chairman KEATING. In this letter, HISS attempted to explain his participation in the submission of the aforementioned lists of prospective employees to the United Nations.

With respect to an unnamed employee, concerning whom it was brought out in previous testimony, was sponsored by HISS to the San Francisco Conference on United Nations International Organization, HISS stated, "I served as head of the Conference Secretariat, a staff as I recall it, of about 2,000 people needed for servicing a large international conference, including transportation and housing of delegations, press and the staff itself. This large staff was assembled in a matter of weeks from various Governmental and private agencies. The man in question may have served on this staff. I am puzzled as to any other way in which I could have 'sponsored' him. If this is the meaning of 'sponsor' as used in your hearings and if I were to be supplied with the individual's name, I might or might not be familiar with the details of how he came to be a member of that hurriedly assembled and temporary staff, (the conference lasted from April 25 to June 30, 1945). The FBI had personnel in San Francisco and the CIC had men who served on my staff. I would have expected some report to me from the FBI or my own staff, if anything was known that reflected adversely on the loyalty of a staff member. I recall no such report from FBI or CIC sources."

This letter was admitted into record by Chairman KEATING.

PJM:mss

RECORDED - 93

105-13893-473  
MAY 27 1953  
*5/27*

INDEXED - *JH*

56 JUN 3 1953

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*Rel*  
*Mem to Dir 5/9/53*  
*CHAM*

N.P.  
WFO 105-1607

The first witness was Mr. WILLIAM L. FRANKLIN, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Security, Department of State, who testified concerning additional information he had developed through his current investigation concerning this matter.

The next witness was Mr. JOHN W. FORD, Director of Security, Department of State, who testified further concerning Witness #12, whom HISS referred to in the above letter. Mr. FORD stated that in addition to being processed through HISS'S office and sponsored by him to the above San Francisco Conference, he found documentary evidence in State Department files that HISS was responsible for this witness's appointment to the San Francisco Conference and that at the time this was done, HISS was aware of unfavorable newspaper publicity and Congressional Hearings concerning this witness. In addition, Mr. FORD found a communication dated in April, 1946, which was a list containing 58 names, among which was Witness #12. Also included among the 58 names was the name of a former employee of the State Department, later terminated for security reasons.

*rel*  
The last witness for the morning was Mr. GEORGE M. INGRAM, Director, Office of International Administration and Conferences, Department of State, who testified concerning his participation in the secret arrangement in the Fall of 1949, between the State Department and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

At the conclusion of Mr. INGRAM'S testimony, Chairman KEATING recessed the committee at 12:40 P.M., until 2:15 P.M., at which time they would reconvene and it was pointed out that Ambassador-at-large, HENRY CABOT LODGE, would be a witness at the afternoon session.

Addendum: 5-8-53 <sup>79</sup> SA Peter Murphy of the WFO telephonically advised Supr. EAM SHAW that in addition to the above re Witness #12 Ford stated "Witness #12 had been identified by a former Communist as being a member of a Communist ring to which Hiss also belonged."

Shaw

9/21/48

FILE REFLECTS APPLICANT IS COUSIN OF ALGER ~~H~~ HISS, AND FORMERLY EMPLOYED  
~~REDACTED~~ WITH HISS IN STATE DEPARTMENT. BUDED PAST.

BU-

124-1252-10

Office Memorandum

2 • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. LADD

DATE: May 8, 1953

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: INFILTRATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY SUBVERSIVE AMERICAN CITIZENS INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Agents of the Washington Field Office covering the Keating Committee hearings on May 8, 1953, have advised that Robert Collier read to the Committee the letter dated April 8, 1953, addressed to the Committee by Alger Hiss.

DC

You will recall that that letter was made available to the Bureau on April 15, 1953, and was the subject of your memorandum to the Director dated April 17, 1953, captioned "Alger Hiss; Perjury; Espionage - R." The letter pointed out that Hiss reviewed the testimony of Messrs. Ford and Franklin of the State Department regarding submission of names to the United Nations by Alger Hiss' office at the State Department in the Spring of 1946. The letter points out that Hiss could not comment regarding an unnamed United Nations employee whom he allegedly sponsored to the San Francisco Conference. Hiss stated "The FBI had personnel at San Francisco and the CIC had men who served on my staff. I would have expected some report to me from the FBI or my own staff if anything was known that reflected adversely on the loyalty of a staff member." As you pointed out to the Director in your memorandum dated April 17, mentioned above, Bufiles reveal our participation at San Francisco Conference on request of former Secretary of State Stettinius. Our participation was limited to guarding Stettinius and intelligence responsibility concerning countries attending Conference. State never requested Bureau to make security check of U. S. employees on Secretariat staff. On April 6, 1945, E. A. Tamm informed Hiss Bureau's participation limited as above. The unnamed employee, referred to above, is believed to be David Zablodowsky who resigned from United Nations January 9, -1953. No comment was made before the Committee regarding the FBI participation at the San Francisco Conference.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

RECORDED-37  
INDEXED-37

105-13893-464  
MAY 12 1953

105-13893  
CC - 62-96529

EAM:jk

(5) (A)

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
M...  
J...  
159me 2/10/53

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10/2/51

31-1-8  
Ind.

It is noted in the statement prepared by [REDACTED] it is stated that [REDACTED], in the fall of 1949, indicated he had become acquainted with ALGER HISS while he, [REDACTED] was working for the State Department. [REDACTED] in his statement, states that [REDACTED] was known to have made the statement in 1949 that "ALGER HISS is my friend".

121-34328-2

During the fall of 1949

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ stated emphatically  
and almost defiantly: "Alger  
Kiss is my friend." The  
circumstances were the following:

One morning prior to the opening  
of the committee meeting comments  
were made about the Alger Kiss  
case. I believe it was at the  
time newspaper headlines announced  
Kiss's conviction. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
stated that he had learned  
to know Kiss well while  
1 Enclosure

working for the State Department,  
that he did not believe him  
guilty of the charges made  
against him and quite  
defiantly stated that "Aeger  
Kies is my friend."

11/9/51

"This letter contained information received from a confidential source who advised that [REDACTED] was friendly with Alger Hiss and made the statement in 1949 that, "Alger Hiss is my friend."

121-34328-2



## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

Pg 29

FILE NO: See ReferencesRE: Alger HissDATE March, 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
100-180529-4	7/17/51	Letter to Boston w/enc.	4	3	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
121-30436-31	8/3/51	Boston Report	18	2	N.P.
101-3396-26	11/4/50	Letter S.A.C. Edward Scheidt to the Director, FBI w/enc.	19	19	—
140-195-50	4/29/54	WFO Report	8	2	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
118-8988-6	2/24/51	WFO Report	6	4	N.P.
123-12404-6	12/4/51	Los Angeles Report	11	1	N.P.
100-434886-18	10/31/61	WFO Report	51	1	N.P.
101-5243-17	2/14/51	New York Report	38	1	N.P.
101-786-229	4/15/53	Subcommittee to Investigate the Internal Security Act.	—	—	Not Subject to disclosure under FOIA
100-338861-135	6/17/52	New York Report	28	3	N.P.
			173	36	

7-17-51

I just said a few ahem's to lead on, and she proceeded to tell me that Alger Hiss is the finest American.

[REDACTED] (I shant turn etc) but that all of them are justified in feeling that Alger Hiss is the American DREYFUSS. That terrible Bentley woman and that Chambers. I said that she seems to have a very low opinion of justice, and she said that people called [REDACTED] from the street should not judge a man like Alger Hiss. I said that she may have a point there that the Hiss case deserved a blue ribbon jury, but felt the verdict would have been the same.

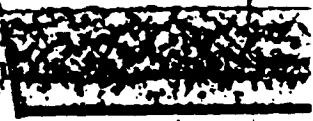
*Handwritten notes:*  
100-180529-4  
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*Handwritten:* FIVE

I pressed her a bit on this statement that Hiss is the American Dreyfuss, in reminding her that Dreyfuss was railroaded in a military courtmartial based on religious bigotry and I could not see the similaruty. She asked me at this point what I think about j.Edgar Hoover. I told her that I consider him one of our greatest men. She shrugged but did not say a thing. She switched from Hiss to /



100-180529-4

In conversation some weeks ago the airport manager of the tiny Lebanon N.H. airport mentioned that Alger Hiss and his brother landed there last summer.



I am sure that there will be some nice big game  
hunting around here, and we are happy to have  
some guests drop in who do not think that Alger  
Hiss is a "Dreyfuss".

100-180529-4

8/31/51

[REDACTED]

Professor FREUND said HAROLD ROSENWALD and ALGER HISS had been close friends since their college days at Harvard Law School. He stated ROSENWALD had participated in the defense of ALGER HISS. Professor FREUND said he felt ROSENWALD had taken it upon himself to participate in HISS's defense simply because he (ROSENWALD) was firmly convinced of HISS's innocence.

[REDACTED]

121-30436-91

8/3/51

*Rel*

Confidential Informant Boston T-1 stated ROSENWALD was further described as one who had undertaken the task of acting as a consultant at ALGER HISS's civil suit against WITTAKER CHAMBERS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

November 4, 1950

Director, FBI

Attention: Inspector J. H. Belmont

Re: INFORMATION CONCERNING SECRETARY  
OF STATE DEAN ACHESON;  
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

There is attached a 17-page pamphlet which was received in the New York Office on the afternoon of November 4, 1950. The attached is in the form of a release concerning the study of Secretary of State Dean Acheson's policies which will soon be issued in pamphlet form. The letter was apparently prepared by Martin Richmond at 40 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y. The pamphlet will be entitled "The Case against Dean Acheson," and will be written by VICTOR LASKY, the co-author of the recent book on the HISS-CHAMBERS trial, "Seeds of Treason." LASKY is presently a staff writer for the World-Telegram and Sun.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
EDWARD SCHEIDT,  
SAC

TGS:RAA  
62

Enclosure

SPECIAL DELIVERY

ENC 95  
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RECORDED - 95

INDEXED - 95

VOL-3396  
NOV 10 1950

DEPT OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
RECEIVED

NOV 22 1950

Communications Industry  
Victor Lasky employed  
by World Telegram & Sun, N.Y. NY (emp. card)

*Laughlin*  
*Belmont*  
*Keogh*  
*Tracy*

RECEIVED  
NOV 11 20 1950

*Belmont*  
6-11-50

From: Martin Richmond,  
40 Exchange Place,  
New York 5, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following study of Secretary of State Dean Acheson's policies will be issued soon in pamphlet form. Written by a noted newspaperman and author, it is entitled:

THE CASE AGAINST DEAN ACHESON,  
by Victor Lasky\*

(\*Co-author of "Seeds of Treason — the True Story of the Hiss-Chambers Tragedy"; and staff writer of the New York World-Telegram and Sun.)

When Arthur Bliss Lane, former Ambassador to Poland, learned of Dean Acheson's appointment as Secretary of State, he blurted out: "God help the United States!"

It was no secret, although Mr. Lane refused to discuss the matter with the press, that his perhaps undiplomatic outburst was occasioned by his bitter experience trying to block a \$90,000,000 postwar loan to the Soviet-controlled Warsaw regime.

Appealing to the State Department to refuse the loan, Mr. Lane had pointed to the Red terror in Poland, the arrests of American citizens and the crushing of all freedoms. He added: "With the greatest earnestness of which I am capable, I beg the department not to approve the extension of any credits at this time."

Nevertheless, the loan was granted with the approval of Dean Acheson, then Undersecretary of State. It had been negotiated by Donald Hiss, brother of Alger and a member of Mr. Acheson's law firm.

As it turned out Mr. Lane was right. The loan was used to strengthen Soviet control of Poland.

In approving it Mr. Acheson could at the very least be accused of bad judgment. But there have been many such cases, too many to be explained as mere coincidences. Taken together they constitute a pattern of behavior on Mr. Acheson's part which can only be described as serving the interests of the Soviet Union.

Lest this be considered too harsh a judgment, let it be recalled that recently an official White House spokesman, W. Averell Harriman, could charge Senator Robert A. Taft with "actions which further the design of the Kremlin."

It would be absurd to accuse Mr. Acheson of membership in the Communist party. It is not absurd, however, to say on the basis of his nine year record in and out of the State Department that he has been incapable of fully understanding the nature of the Communist conspiracy to conquer the world.

And it has been an open conspiracy, spelled out to the nth degree in the writings of Lenin and Stalin, in the resolutions of the Comintern, the Cominform and various Communist party congresses throughout the world.

ENCLOSURE



Mr. Acheson seems to have awakened to a few facts of Soviet aggression and bad faith only in recent years. Yet the record was clear as far back as 1939 when Russia, in complicity with Hitler Germany, seized eastern Poland and the Baltic states. For its unprovoked aggression against Finland the expiring League of Nations expelled Russia from membership.

But even today Mr. Acheson has faith in the Soviet revolution, thinking perhaps it may get on the right track. Speaking before the United Nations Assembly, at the height of the Korean debate, Mr. Acheson said:

"This perspective takes into account the possibility that the Soviet Government may not be inherently and unalterably committed to standing in the way of peace, and that it may some day accept a live-and-let-live philosophy.

"The Soviet leaders are realists, in some respects at least. As we succeed in building the necessary economic and defensive military strength it will become clear to them that the non-Soviet world will neither collapse nor be dismembered piecemeal.

"Some modification in their aggressive policies may follow, if they then recognize that the best interests of the Soviet Union require a cooperative relationship with the outside world.

"Time may have its effect. It is but thirty-three years since the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in Russia. This is a short time in history. Like many other social and political movements before it, the Soviet revolution may change."

Even the Korean war, launched by a Kremlin signal, has failed to teach Mr. Acheson the facts of the Communist conspiracy. He reveals as the central point of his own ideology a studied indifference to the menace of Soviet dictatorship.

Mr. Acheson's continuing use of the unfortunate phrase — "the Soviet leaders" — which presupposes they have a devoted following and are not cruel despots who rule with an iron hand — is perhaps revealing.

More revealing was his recent Freedom House speech in which he admitted that "a broad compromise" with the Soviet dictatorship was impossible — at this time. Mr. Acheson insisted, that as America rearms and as America rearms Europe "negotiations become possible."

"...As the strength and durability of the free nations bite into the consciousness of the soviet leaders, some modification of their determination to achieve world domination could follow," he added.

"This would open the door on many possibilities for the peaceful adjustment of differences."

In other words, we can still do business with Stalin.

Mr. Acheson's myopia towards Stalinism has in large measure led American foreign policy to fail completely — to a point where the masters of the Kremlin now call the tune.

For the road to Korea is strewn with the wreckage of Mr. Acheson's miscalculations and blunders — the chief of which was the loss of China and its 400,000,000 people to the Soviet Union.

The incredible theory that the Chinese Reds were not real Reds but "agrarian reformers" was long the cornerstone of the Far East policy promulgated by the Acheson administration. And, according to this group, the Chiang Kai-shek regime was riddled with such corruption it could not be saved. Mr. Acheson set up standards of purity which could not be found in the New York City police department much less in Kansas City.

Despite the fall of China and the Korean mess, Mr. Acheson is still unable to come up with an affirmative Far East policy. He clings to a bankrupt program involving the eventual recognition of Red China, the disparagement of General Douglas MacArthur (his ancient enemy), the abandonment of Formosa and the sabotage of Chiang Kai-shek's valiant efforts to win back his country. As a result, outside of South Korea, we do not have one trustworthy ally in Asia.

Presumably, Mr. Acheson's Far East program is based on the gamble that China's Red leader, Mao Tse Tung, will become another Tito and a thorn in Stalin's side. For Mr. Acheson seems to have an inordinate trust in Tito's brand of Communism.

Meanwhile, Mr. Acheson is fighting the loan to Spain proposed by the Senate. Though so tolerant of the Red regime in Warsaw, Mr. Acheson deplores the totalitarian nature of the Franco regime.

This peculiar standard towards totalitarians extends to Yugoslavia. Mr. Acheson is more than willing to do business with Marshall Tito. Apparently the Tito police state is more palatable to Mr. Acheson than Franco's.

At the same time Mr. Acheson has constantly come to the defense of persons accused of being Communists, dupes of Communists or out-and-out Soviet agents. This penchant of Mr. Acheson's has led to widespread criticism and fear throughout the nation that the State Department has become the haven of a Communist gang. And Mr. Acheson has done little to dispel that ever spreading belief.

Instead he has repeatedly scoffed at such allegations. And he has constantly ignored warnings of Red infiltration of the department. These warnings had come regularly from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and State Department security officials. At least one security officer was chastened for being "overzealous." That official, his pension at stake, took the hint and was forced into silence.

The security situation had become so frightful by June 1947 under Mr. Acheson's administration of the department that a Senate appropriations subcommittee addressed a then secret memorandum to General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State. General Marshall, incidentally, did nothing about the matter.

"It becomes necessary due to the gravity of the situation to call your attention to a condition that developed and still flourishes in the State Department under the administration of Dean Acheson," the memorandum stated.

"It is evident that there is a deliberate, calculated program being carried out not only to protect Communist personnel in high places but to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity.

"On file in the department is a copy of a preliminary report of the FBI on Soviet espionage activities in the United States, which involves a large number of State Department employees, some in high official positions. This report has been challenged and ignored by those charged with the responsibility of administering the department with the apparent tacit approval of Mr. Acheson.

"Should this case break before the State Department acts, it will be a national disgrace. Voluminous files are on hand in the department proving the connection of the State Department employees and officials of this Soviet espionage ring."

Yet at the height of the furor over Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges against the State Department Mr. Acheson permitted himself a flight of moral indignation before a group of newspaper editors.

Mr. Acheson accused the Wisconsin Republican of a "mad and vicious operation" in demanding the exposure of alleged Reds in the department. Mr. Acheson insisted that his staff consisted of "honorable," "loyal," and "clean living American men and women" — presumably not including the 91 homosexuals fired by the State Department nor the several department employees arrested on morals charges since.

Mr. Acheson's blanket clearance of all department employees indicates clearly he is unable — or unwilling — to believe that the Soviet Union could plant agents or sympathizers in his department. In July, 1946, he told a Congressional committee that many persons cited as security risks or loyalty suspects were affiliated with "progressive organizations" and that he would not fire "progressives."

Many of these "progressive organizations" have since been listed by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist.

Not even a jury verdict based on a mountain of evidence was apparently enough to convince Mr. Acheson that Alger Hiss was a proven Soviet spy. As far back as 1940 or 1941 Adolf A. Berle Jr., an Assistant Secretary of State then in charge of the department's security, warned Mr. Acheson about the Hiss brothers — Alger and Donald.

Mr. Berle has since recalled that Mr. Acheson "said he had known the family of these boys from childhood and would vouch for them absolutely." The record shows that Mr. Acheson permitted Alger Hiss to rise to important policy-making posts without apparently making any effort to resolve doubts as to his loyalty. And Mr. Acheson made Donald Hiss — his protege — a member of his law firm, where he still is today.

In 1945 when the FBI arrested six persons on charges involving espionage, in what has become known as the Amerasia case, Mr. Acheson went to bat for one of the defendants, John Stewart Service. Mr. Service, a State Department career officer, has since admitted turning over secret government documents to Philip Caffe, a known Soviet agent.

When Senator McCarthy revived the Service case, Mr. Service was called home from abroad for a new investigation by a loyalty board. Even before the board looked into the matter, Mr. Acheson "cleared" Service. He authorized a statement calling the McCarthy charges "dead, discredited and disproven." The statement said "the sympathy and good wishes of the entire department go out" to Mr. Service and his family. No one was very much surprised, therefore, when the loyalty board again cleared Mr. Service.

Despite his arrest, Mr. Service has won consistent promotions in the State Department. Compare this with the treatment accorded Angus Ward, a courageous diplomat of the old school who was detained for 13 months by the Chinese Reds in Mukden. Mr. Ward, who never made any secret of his detestation of the be-nice-to-Russia crowd among his colleagues, was finally "rewarded" with an obscure consular post in British East Africa.

Apparently Mr. Acheson can't forget or forgive Mr. Ward for snarling up his plan of recognizing Red China last year by getting himself arrested.

Another to whose defense ~~Acheson~~ rushed was ~~Lauchlin Currie~~, one of the late President Roosevelt's "anonymous" advisers. Mr. Currie was named as a fellow traveler by both ~~Elizabeth Bentley~~ and ~~Whittaker Chambers~~.

Mr. Currie appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee to deny the charges. Mr. Acheson acted as his counsel. Mr. Currie today continues to have State Department backing in his various ventures.

The Secretary also came to the aid of ~~Harold Glasser~~, another accused by ~~Miss Bentley~~. Mr. Glasser had been a technical adviser for Mr. Acheson at the founding meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Despite the charges, Mr. Acheson wrote a letter of recommendation which Mr. Glasser used to obtain an important post in a New York charities organization.

Both Hiss brothers continue to hold his friendship which, as Mr. Acheson told a Senate Committee looking into his fitness to serve as Secretary, "is not easily given and is not easily withdrawn."

But what unsettled Congress completely was Mr. Acheson's proclamation that he would not "turn his back" on Alger Hiss, even after Hiss was convicted by a jury of his peers.

Enlightened lawmakers who would concede Mr. Acheson the human privilege of standing by a friend felt he could not disassociate himself from his official position in commenting at all. Even Senator Scott Lucas, the Democratic whip, publicly repudiated the Acheson declaration. He said it wasn't doing the party much good.

Although Mr. Acheson would not "turn his back" on a convicted traitor, he seems to have turned his back on the victims of Communism — the hundreds of Americans who are being held against their will behind the Iron Curtain.

<sup>MA - MRS.</sup> One of them is ~~Robert A. Vogeler~~, the American businessman sentenced to 15 years in Hungary in a mock trial. According to Mrs. Vogeler, who saw Mr. Acheson to protest American "indifference" to her husband's fate, the Secretary spoke of "patience and fortitude" and asked her to forget a plan she had for rescue and to keep mum.

"I received nothing but empty promises," she bitterly complained to newspapermen.

<sup>MA'S</sup> Mr. Acheson's role in the case of ~~Dr. Karl von Kleeckowski~~ is perhaps significant. Dr. von Kleeckowski and his wife had been recruited in the Balkans for U.S. counter-espionage by Gov. George H. Earle of Pennsylvania, when he was President Roosevelt's wartime undercover representative.

For their work Gov. Earle promised them asylum in the U.S. But, when they arrived here aboard a U.S. Army plane, they were seized and interned as enemy aliens.

Gov. Earle immediately launched a campaign in their behalf, charging that Communist influences in the State Department sought their deportation. Mr. Acheson accused them of being "dangerous enemy aliens."

Their attorney, Louis Waldman, demanded a bill of particulars which Mr. Acheson never furnished. Mr. Waldman said that perhaps their anti-Red reports on the Balkan situation had led to Mr. Acheson's antagonism. Eventually, they were deported to South America.

Also arousing considerable feelings in Congress has been the activities of Mr. Acheson's law firm ~~Covington, Burling, Rublee and Shorb~~.

In January, 1947, Representative Paul W. Shafer accused Mr. Acheson of profiting from business the firm had obtained from foreign governments. He cited the Polish firm as an example.

"Along with the other great financial wizards of the New Deal," Mr. Shafer charged, "Mr. Acheson has learned well how to feather his own nest while serving in a public post." Mr. Acheson denied the charge.

The firm got into the news again last February when it was disclosed that Mr. Acheson's former partner, Charles A. Horský, was circulating a petition demanding as "imperative in the public interest" a public investigation of the "lawless conduct of the FBI."

Mr. Horský accused the FBI of illegal wire tapping, rifling private mail, destroying evidence and counseling false and misleading sworn testimony by FBI agents.

Although the Communist party had launched its own anti-FBI campaign, Mr. Horský said he "abhorred" Communism. There is nothing in the record to indicate how Mr. Acheson felt about Mr. Horský's crusade. But soon after its disclosure it was quietly stifled.

In August, 1949, Mr. Acheson scoffed at charges that the United Nations had permitted large numbers of Soviet agents to pour into the U.S. in the guise of U.N. officials. Senator Pat McCarran, a Democrat, said he had the facts to back up such charges.

A half year later Senator McCarran was proved right in one significant case. The FBI arrested a Russian national, Vanentín Gubitchev, an employee of the United Nations, along with Judith Coplon, a Justice Department employee, on espionage charges. Both were convicted.

But Gubitchev was allowed to return to his homeland by Mr. Acheson, despite the fact Americans were being held in Red dungeons. Presumably Gubitchev's release was effected in order to obtain the release of someone like Mr. Vogeler. But if there was a quid pro quo arrangement it never came off — at least publicly.

Events have shown that Mr. Acheson's policies have at the very least been stupid. But he is still in charge of making foreign policy during the worst crisis this nation has ever faced. And he has remained possibly because of Mr. Truman's own inability to realize that Joseph Stalin — "Good Old Joe," he once called him — can not be dealt with like the boys in Kansas City.

It is this soft-headed unrealistic thinking about world affairs which has led this nation to the shadow of catastrophe.

Mr. Acheson is not a trained diplomat. He never saw foreign duty in the State Department. He entered Government service in the early 30s as an Undersecretary of the Treasury. President Roosevelt fired him after calling him a "lightweight." Mr. Acheson had opposed tinkering with the dollar.

But it would be wrong to assume that Mr. Acheson was a man with set principles. For he eventually reappeared on the scene as an ardent New Dealer. In 1941, having obtained FDR's forgiveness, Mr. Acheson entered the State Department.

Before long he took over the leadership of a large intellectual fellowship in the department which was morally certain that eternal peace lay entirely in a sympathetic understanding of Russia. Mr. Acheson and his soulmates, including Alger Hiss, saw everything that transpired in the Soviet Union as good, or, in the light of history, forgivable.

Adolf A. Berle, who is no reactionary, has testified how this fellowship gained the ascendancy in the department. Mr. Berle declared under oath that in the fall of 1944 "there was a difference of opinion" in the department.

"I felt that the Russians were not going to be sympathetic and cooperative," Mr. Berle said. "Victory was then assured, but not complete, and the intelligence reports... indicated a very aggressive policy, not at all in line with the kind of cooperation everyone was hoping for.

"I was pressing for a pretty clean-cut showdown then when our position was strongest. The opposite group in the State Department was largely the men — Mr. Acheson's group, of course — with Mr. Hiss as a principal assistant in the matter.... I got trimmed in that fight and, as a result, went to Brazil and that ended my diplomatic career."

Other experienced diplomats got "trimmed" in that fight. Most notable was Joseph C. Grew, our former Ambassador to Japan, who resigned in August, 1945 as Undersecretary to be succeeded by Mr. Acheson.

The shift proved great cause for joy at Communist party headquarters. The Daily Worker declared that Mr. Grew's resignation meant that "the forces in the State Department which were relatively anti-imperialist were strengthened." The Communist party had already praised the new Undersecretary "as one of the most forward looking men in the State Department." On Oct. 7, 1945 the pro-Soviet newspaper, PM, now defunct, declared: "Now State Department policy has a better appreciation of what the Soviet Union wants."

Possibly the leftwing newspapers had recalled the role played by Mr. Acheson at the founding meeting of UNRRA in 1943. How UNRRA, its staff heavily infiltrated by Stalinists, became a tool of Soviet conquest, is a story never adequately told.

For the scandals involving the misuse of UNRRA supplies could not be properly investigated by Congress, thanks in large measure to Mr. Acheson, even though the U.S. footed most of the tremendous bill.

Mr. Acheson had approved a decision to permit the recipient governments to distribute supplies without proper checking as to what became of them. This was a setup proposed by the Russians. According to the former Polish Ambassador, Jan Ciechenowski, in his book, "Defeat in Victory," Mr. Acheson not only approved it but forced the British to accept.

Thus, when the American Legion protested against further UNRRA aid to Tito, after American planes were shot down over Yugoslavia, Mr. Acheson declared that the U.S. had no authority to withhold supplies. And never once has Mr. Acheson mentioned the proved fact that Russia had abused UNRRA aid for her own political purposes.

And only last August, Mr. Acheson, kowtowing again to Marshal Tito's police state, saw to it that no official United States representative attended the unveiling in Arlington Cemetery of a headstone for the five young American fliers shot down over Yugoslavia.

Arthur Bliss Lane, who had warned against the Polish loan, had raised the money for the headstone in private subscriptions. Columnist Ernest Lindley, who disclosed the story, concluded: "Diplomatic delicacy has its values but it should not be permitted to interfere with official homage to the dead."

Soon after succeeding Mr. Grew, Mr. Acheson seemed to go out of his way to earn the Daily Worker's accolades. He set about putting General Douglas MacArthur in his place. The General, then under heavy fire from the Russians in Tokyo, had stated that Japan was docile enough to be occupied by only 200,000 troops.

This did not set too well with the Far East section of the State Department, whose guiding spirit was Owen Lattimore and which sought a great social and economic revolution in Japan. Their schemes would require large numbers of troops to back the "social revolution."

In a statement described by the Associated Press as "more pugnacious than diplomatic" Mr. Acheson reminded General MacArthur that the State Department and not he "is determining American policy toward Japan."

For this PM said, "Hats off to Dean Acheson....the leader of the younger, more progressive men in the State Department....who won the first round in his fight for a stern, but just, Japanese peace."

Mr. Acheson has testified that one reason he rebuked General MacArthur was that he felt the need for a "liberal" government in Japan — a government in whose administration the Soviet Union would have a part. At the time it was Mr. Acheson's view that the participation of the Soviet regime makes a government "liberal."

In the long run, General MacArthur, of course, was proved right; but this hasn't kept Mr. Acheson from continuing a bitter feud with the General to this day. That the feud is recognized by the White House is indicated by the fact that President Truman did not take Mr. Acheson with him on his recent Wake Island junket where he met the General for the first time.

There is nothing in the record to indicate that Mr. Acheson had ever sought General MacArthur's advice even though he probably is one of the leading American experts on Far East questions.

Yet the State Department has been responsible for a variety of peculiar orders to the General, the most curious of which was the order, still in effect, certifying the Japanese Communist party as one of the "democratic groups" to receive official encouragement.

Mr. Acheson, who played a key role in the making of foreign policy in the past decade, is no expert on the inner politics of international relations. Writing in the May, 1946 issue of The American Mercury, Benjamin Stolberg, an astute journalist, recognized this fact.

"And so," added Mr. Stolberg, "our Undersecretary is constantly wetting his finger to see which way the winds are blowing. Naturally he is wetting his finger in the atmosphere in which he moves and that atmosphere is one of confused 'liberalism' and Soviet 'friendship' in the romantic sense.

"The truth is that he is not an astute and fundamental observer; his brilliance is professional, reckless and on the surface. Nor is he a strong personality; he is sensitive to the pseudo-liberal opinions of PM, the Nation and the New Republic, of the fashionably leftish journalists, commentators, bureaucrats, professors and movie stars. As Undersecretary of State he has been constantly under the influence and pressure of these waves of opinion, set in motion and manipulated by an invisible force."

A classic example of how the Acheson clique operated — how a small group fostered policies contrary to American interests, but amenable to the left — can be seen in our postwar policies toward Japan.

Prior to the Japanese surrender, the Far East sub-committee of the State-War-Navy departments' coordinating committee was charged with preparing a "statement of general

initial policy relating to Japan." Mr. Acheson attended the meetings. Others from State who sat in included Joseph C. Grew; his able assistant, Eugene Dooman, and Joseph Ballantine, the director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs — all with lengthy experience in Tokyo.

These career officers felt certain that the Japanese would never surrender unless the position of the Emperor was recognized. They felt that Japan would be ungovernable if the Imperial authority was destroyed.

Although such views, at the height of a bitter war, could not be expected to have had any popular appeal, events since have demonstrated they were correct. But Mr. Acheson opposed them. And a bitter fight, the leftist side of which carried over into certain newspapers, raged in the department — climaxed by the resignations of Messrs. Grew, Dooman and Ballantine.

In their stead came Owen Lattimore, deputy director of the Office of War Information; John Carter Vincent, chief of the State Department's China section; and Lauchlin Currie, then with the Office of Economic Warfare.

Generally the new group advocated measures proposed in Mr. Lattimore's "Solution in Asia," a copy of which was seen on Mr. Truman's desk when the President announced the Japanese surrender. Mr. Lattimore had urged the abolition of the Japanese monarchy, banishment of the Imperial family to China for life, dissolution of large Japanese enterprises and a purge of business executives.

The new leftist State Department crowd came up with a program which in effect called for the atomizing of Japanese industry into single-plant companies; taking securities from their owners for a purely nominal price; and selling them to new entrepreneurs — such as farmers' cooperatives and labor unions, many of them Communist-controlled.

But the Acheson-Lattimore-Vincent group could not sell its views on the Japanese monarchy even though, according to Drew Pearson, Mr. Acheson had arranged for Mr. Lattimore to talk to Mr. Truman on the matter. Later, Mr. Truman appointed Mr. Lattimore as a member of the Pauley reparations commission to Tokyo.

The Acheson-Lattimore-Vincent program for Japan proved unworkable and within three years, at the insistence of the late James V. Forrestal, it was reversed. Today the same general standards apply to Japanese business as apply to American corporations under the anti-trust laws.

In November, 1945, Mr. Acheson went out of his way to demonstrate his sympathetic understanding of Russia by appearing at a Madison Square Garden rally called by the National Conference of Soviet-American Friendship.

Other speakers at the rally, called to welcome the Dean of Canterbury, the Red eccentric of the Church of England, included Corliss Lamont, Paul Robeson, Albert Fitzgerald and Joseph E. Davies.

By this time Soviet intentions in the postwar world had become unmistakable even for the most woolly-headed. But Mr. Acheson told an assembled throng of Communists and fellow-travelers that "there is no specific reason to suppose" that "the vital interests of the American and Russian people" will ever clash.

"We understand," continued Mr. Acheson, "and agree with them to have friendly governments along her borders is essential, both for the security of the Soviet Union and for the peace of the world."



This could only be read to mean that the U.S. would oppose "unfriendly" — anti-Communist — "governments along her borders." The record shows clearly that, for empty protests to placate American opinion, the State Department acquiesced in the formation of Red satellites in Eastern Europe. Such was Acheson policy.

The same fuzzy-minded regard for the Kremlin's susceptibilities was demonstrated by Mr. Acheson when he and David Lilienthal prepared a report on atomic energy. Dated March 28, 1946, the report looked forward to giving the atomic secret to Russia. The report declared:

"When the plan is in full operation there will no longer be secrets about atomic energy. We believe that this is the firmest basis of security; for, in the long term there can be no international control and no international cooperation which does not presuppose international community of knowledge." Fortunately, Bernard M. Baruch's commission took a more realistic view of our "peace-loving Soviet allies." The Baruch plan provided for continuing inspection, free of the veto. Russia, of course, refused.

In May, 1946, as Acting Secretary, Mr. Acheson announced that Soviet representatives would be permitted to witness the atomic tests at Bikini. This was an offer of "cooperation" the Russians did not turn down.

In September, 1945, Mr. Acheson — constantly worried about the Kremlin's susceptibilities — prevented the House Un-American Activities Committee from holding public hearings in the case of Sam Carp, a brother-in-law of Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov.

Mr. Carp, a Bridgeport, Conn., businessman, had been called to explain some of his business relations with the Soviet Union. Mr. Acheson, in his request to the Congressional group, said such testimony might embarrass U.S.-Soviet relations.

It was in this period that Mr. Acheson, as Acting Secretary, broke off U. S. diplomatic relations with Spain. At the request of Freda Kirchwey, editor of The Nation, he received Dr. Juan Negrin, who headed the pro-Soviet wing of the Spanish Republican forces. But he refused to see cabinet members of the Spanish Government in Exile who, though Socialists, were opposed to Moscow.

For some reason Mr. Acheson has an aversion towards anti-Communist Socialists. Norman Thomas has repeatedly tried to see him to give information on Socialist politics abroad — where they are of considerable importance. Yet, Mr. Acheson has been too busy to see Mr. Thomas.

On Dec. 20, 1945 Mr. Acheson was not too busy to receive Milton Wolff, head of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which recruited Americans to fight illegally in the Spanish Civil War. The following day the Daily Worker reported that Mr. Acheson had promised to intervene with Franco in behalf of two brigade members held in Spain.

In March, 1946, Mr. Acheson snubbed Winston Churchill after the former British Prime Minister delivered his now famous Fulton, Missouri, speech warning the world against the Soviet threat. Although Mr. Truman had sat on the dais when Mr. Churchill delivered his speech, Mr. Acheson's attitude was plainly shown when he refused to appear at a New York dinner welcoming Mr. Churchill. The Churchill speech had been bitterly assailed by the Communists, following Moscow's lead. It was at this time that Mr. Acheson was supposed to have discarded his pro-Soviet orientation. Why this should have been Mr. Acheson's turning point nobody knows. There is, however, the curious coincidence that the Russians were then threatening the Middle East oil fields. Mr. Acheson's law firm had long represented an important oil firm.

However, Mr. Acheson's supposed change of heart became known when he pledged American intervention in the event Iran was attacked by Russia.

However, Mr. Acheson was not too happy over the Truman doctrine which had been announced by the President in March, 1947. The doctrine permitted the U.S. to intervene in the affairs of any nation threatened by Soviet aggression.

As the first step, Mr. Truman recommended military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. Economic aid, under the doctrine, was to be strictly limited to the main purpose -- opposing the spread of Soviet power with arms, if necessary.

On May 10, 1947, Mr. Acheson, according to the United Press, took the lead "to shift the emphasis in the Truman doctrine from an ideological crusade against Communism to an economic program for rebuilding Western Europe and the Far East into healthy, democratic areas."

At the same time, over bitter Congressional opposition, Mr. Acheson insisted that the U.S. deliver nearly \$17,000,000 worth of postwar lend-lease supplies to Russia. Several Congressmen pointed out the inconsistency in sending such equipment while carrying out the Truman doctrine. But Mr. Acheson said the U.S. must abide by its contracts. Senator Styles Bridges thereupon accused Mr. Acheson of "talking tough out of one corner of his mouth while advocating aid to Russia out of the other."

Mr. Acheson then made several speeches expressing the need for rebuilding the economies of Western Europe. This was followed by General George C. Marshall's speech at Harvard which led to the Marshall plan. Mr. Acheson has since taken credit as the "brains" behind the Marshall plan. And this has been constantly cited to prove how anti-Communist Mr. Acheson is.

Actually, the plan as originally worked out by Mr. Acheson contemplated enormous gifts to Russia and the East European satellites. In fact, the Red regime in Prague had originally indorsed the plan. But the Prague Communists were forced to swallow the indorsement when the Kremlin decided the Marshall plan was a Wall Street plot.

When Russia refused to play ball, the plan was proclaimed as a certain means of placing Western Europe in a position to defend herself against Russia. But as it worked out, it did nothing of the sort. In effect, the plan constituted an abandonment of the Truman doctrine. The Economic Cooperation Administration sought the economic recovery of the world, but without military protection for nations in the Soviet line of march.

And ECA has encouraged Europeans to believe they have a right to a high standard of living without doing anything in their own behalf either to achieve it or to protect it against Moscow.

As a result, despite all the billions spent by the ECA, not a single new division of fighting men has been created in Soviet-menaced Europe to resist aggression. Yet the Marshall plan has been sold to the American people as having stopped Communism.

But, as Representative Walter Judd has asked, "Why should we expect the Communists to keep out of Western Europe when our investment of billions only makes those countries more tempting?"

The answer to Mr. Judd's question can be found in Korea, a nation to which we provided some economic aid but no military support.

As yet, Mr. Acheson refuses to admit that the debacle in China was a major defeat of American foreign policy. Our goal was, or should have been, the promotion of a free, friendly and democratic China. Instead, we are confronted with a China, which was less free, less friendly and farther from democracy.

And Mr. Acheson is still continuing his suicidal feud with Chiang Kai-shek, the still-recognized head of a friendly anti-Communist foreign power. As recently as last July 30, Mr. Acheson was quoted as declaring:

"The idea is loose in our country that we are all-powerful and can dictate world affairs. That assumption leads to the belief that, whenever something goes wrong, some American official must be at fault.

"The Red capture of China was so regarded by many. Actually, China's fall was solely the fault of Chiang Kai-shek; he refused all friendly advice, lost every vestige of his popular support and was ultimately taken to the Communist cleaners."

In one breath, Mr. Acheson states grandly that we cannot "dictate world affairs" and, in the next, he berates Chiang for refusing "all friendly advice," presumably American demands he make his peace with the Reds and clean out "corruption."

Mr. Acheson is quick to discover corruption in governments pledged to fight Communism. Last January he accused the Philippines government of misusing American funds. The speech came when Communist-led Hukapalahaps roamed the countryside spreading death and destruction.

The official Philippines' reactions were interesting. Declared President Elpidio Quirino: "I deplore the insinuation that the Philippines may be a second China...."

Finance Secretary Pio Pedrosa lashed back with the accusation that any misuse of funds was the fault of Americans who participated in graft in the disposition of surplus property.

"I will not be surprised," said Mr. Pedrosa, "if, sensing that the Philippines might be lost to democracy because of fast developments in Communist Asia, the U.S. State Department may not be preparing to ease the United States gracefully out of the picture by issuing a White Paper on the Philippines — the first inklings should be the supposed misuse of this \$2,000,000,000 aid."

Mr. Acheson has played an extremely important role in the shaping of U.S. policies in the Far East. In the fall of 1945 he and his director of Far Eastern Affairs, John Carter Vincent, wrote the instructions and the President's statement which sent General George C. Marshall to China on his ill-fated mission.

The first draft of the President's statement asserted that the U.S. would do no business with Chiang, unless he made a deal with the Communists by taking them into his government. Only when the War Department protested was the statement watered down to read that the U.S. would support the Nationalist Government "so long as it moves towards peace and unity."

For the War Department well knew, through its own intelligence sources, the real nature of Chinese Communists and their complete control by Moscow. But its G-2 reports were discounted by the "wiser heads" in the State Department. And not one of them appears in Mr. Acheson's White Paper on China.

Presumably, Mr. Acheson now knows well the fate of the coalition-with-Communist policy in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Yet, despite the fate of Eastern Europe, Mr. Acheson has constantly denounced Chiang for refusing to have anything to do with Soviet agents.

For that refusal the Republic of China was punished. From 1946 to 1948 the State Department clamped down on aid to the Nationalists. On March 20, 1947, Mr. Acheson, arguing against aid to China, told Congress:

"The Chinese government is not in the position at the present time that the Greek government is in. It is not approaching collapse. It is not threatened by defeat by the Communists. The war with the Communists is going on much as it has for the last 20 years."

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was sending a steady stream of arms to the Chinese "agrarian reformers" — and their counterparts in North Korea. Finally, when the war-weary Chinese Government forces were cracking up under the strain of new onslaughts by the freshly-armed Red troops, the U.S. began sending a trickle of counter-balancing supplies.

But this was not the picture painted in the White Paper on China, released by the State Department on August 5, 1949 with a statement that it was "salient" and "frank."

The New York Times thought otherwise. An editorial on the White Paper declared:

"It is not unfair to point out that such a summary cannot possibly be objective...The department will not inform the President that this effort over which it has labored is inadequate or misleading....It will not take the position that the policies it has shaped have been mistaken. This inquest on China is not the work of a serene and detached coroner but of a vitally interested party in the catastrophe. Unfortunately, at this point one of these vital interests is self-justification, which certainly is the enemy of objective analyses."

In his letter of transmittal to the President, Mr. Acheson asked the American people to accept the proposition that the terrible failure of U.S. policy in China was not the responsibility of U.S. diplomacy. The self-serving document reached the astonishing conclusion that nothing the State Department did or did not do contributed to the "ominous result."

The plain truth is that the White Paper is merely the wrapping for a Black Record of failure. It is a masterpiece of omissions, evasions, tricky half-truths, sly slants and twists to create misleading impressions and to conceal grave misjudgements. Its publication marked the lowest point ever reached by American diplomacy, the nearest thing to political bankruptcy a great power can acknowledge.

The editor, selected by Mr. Acheson, was Professor Philip C. Jessup, whose main qualification for the job apparently was his long association with the American Institute of Pacific Relations. An expert on international law, Prof. Jessup had no direct experience in the Far East.

The AIPR was the chief instrument used by the Communist party to conduct a vigorous propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting the Republic of China. For many years Dr. Jessup's close friend, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, the millionaire Communist, was the institute's executive director and financial angel. Under Dr. Jessup's direction, the institute's publication published many pro-Communist articles. A T.S. Bisson article, referring to the "two Chinas," declared:

"One is now generally called Kuomintang China, the other is called Communist China. However, these are only party labels. To be more descriptive, the one might be called feudal China, the other democratic China."

Dr. Jessup, listed as a sponsor of several Communist fronts, was also a friend of Alger Hiss and, in fact, appeared as a character witness for Hiss at his perjury trial. Perhaps this stood him in good stead with Mr. Acheson, who has used the professor on many vital assignments, the most important of which was the editing of the White Paper. By its publication:

1. Mr. Acheson committed an impulsive act against a fully-recognized government of a great power, a fact which undoubtedly made every other government wonder if it must conform to our every recommendation on pain of being castigated in a White Paper, a fact suggested by Mr. Pedrosa of the Philippines.

2. Mr. Acheson performed a post-mortem on a still-living organism. He used a history book to influence history. He accused a friendly government of every conceivable crime — dishonesty, stupidity, thievery, bad faith, corruption — while we sat with representatives of that government in the U.N. and counted on its votes to support us in the Far Eastern Commission.

3. Mr. Acheson, moreover, painted the Communists as men of virtue, whose only real fault is that they were working in the interests of Russia. And he completely discredited the Chinese anti-Communists, which by the White Paper's own documentation, were waging a war against Communism while Mr. Acheson was still entranced by Edgar ~~Snow~~, Owen Lattimore and Alger Hiss.

4. And Mr. Acheson wrote off any and all elements of the Nationalist government with whom we could have worked out some form of united action. In effect, he gave a kind of de facto recognition to the Red conquest of all China, which was not then actually a fact. This "recognition" gave enormous strength to the Communist elements in Southeast Asia, a territory which Mr. Acheson piously announced the U.S. would defend — by appealing to the U.N.

Nowhere in the White Paper is there the frank admission that the State Department had promoted the myth that the Chinese Reds were agrarian reformers. This fundamental error, and its evil consequences, are covered up. There is the pretense that the State Department knew all along how wicked, totalitarian and subservient to Moscow the Chinese Reds were; and how necessary it was, for America's vital interests, to save China from the Reds.

The White Paper itself, however, smashes this pretense. Buried in the extracts are portions of memoranda of John Davies and John Stewart Service, State Department career officers who were the most bitter critics of the Chiang regime.

The time was 1943-1945 when the tide had turned against Germany and Japan. Russia was free to spread her totalitarian poison. At this crucial juncture the Davies-Service team began thumping the drum for the Chinese Reds. They reported how the Reds were wholeheartedly fighting the Japanese and promoting a wonderful, popular revolution. Short on documentation, they were long on enthusiasm. Typical quotes:

"This (Communist) revolution has been moderate and democratic. It has improved the economic condition of the peasants....given them democratic self-government....freed them from feudalistic bonds...."

"The Chinese Communists... (have) moved away from world revolution to nationalism. (They) have positive and widespread popular support... phenomenal vitality and strength. (They) are genuinely of the people...."

There is no indication from the Davies-Service dispatches, which had profound influence on the making of our Far East policies, that the Chinese Reds were ruthless totalitarians, practicing terror if necessary, suppressing civil liberties, and adept at the most rigid thought control.

Messrs. Davies and Service stated frankly they wanted the U.S. to abandon Chiang and his legitimate government. They argued that just as Winston Churchill had publicly proclaimed support for Marshal Tito, President Roosevelt should proclaim support for Mao Tse-tung. Only this, they said, would force Chiang into a coalition with the Communists.

All this, reading like folly now, can be found in the White Paper, unrebuked and seemingly unnoticed by Mr. Acheson. But the Davies-Service line was the basis for Mr. Acheson's incredibly intemperate castigation of the Nationalist Government. Among other things, Mr. Acheson stated that the Nationalists had starved their people; had made no effective effort towards a progressive government; had sunk into corruption, reaction and a scramble for place and power; had lost the confidence of the people; and had decayed to the point where their troops had lost the will to fight. The Nationalist armies, said Mr. Acheson, "did not have to be defeated; they disintegrated."

Mr. Acheson, as usual, did not document these sweeping indictments. He did not put corruption in the frame of perspective or balance it against a war-corroded economy. Certainly corruption existed in China, as it exists here. The Chinese call it squeeze and cumshaw; Americans call it five per centers and deep freezers. It was exposed and fought there; as it was here.

How did Mr. Acheson weigh "confidence" in China? Apparently not by the 33,000,000 Chinese refugees from Communist territory, who sought haven in Nationalist territory.

They couldn't all be landlords and "reactionaries."

Mr. Acheson excoriated the Nationalists for not promoting constitutionalism. In 1947-48, Chiang led his people toward a democratic constitution and their first experience in popular voting — but the Secretary of State brushed off this progressive effort, that is, if he had heard of it.

The Chinese Reds had themselves provided the answer to Mr. Acheson's charge that the Nationalist armies did not fight. Their official New China News Agency estimated Communist casualties at 1,432,900 in three years. Of these, 622,000 were suffered from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 — the "crucial year," according to Mr. Acheson, when the Nationalists had "disintegrated."

The White Paper does contain one important, less black picture of Chiang. It was drawn by China's foremost scholar, Dr. Hu Shih, one-time Ambassador to the U.S. In December 1948 our Ambassador reported he had talked with Dr. Hu. He said:

"The conversation with Hu was especially saddening because he represents the finest type of patriotic idealism in his attempt to be loyal to the Chiang government. Hu's argument is that Communism is so implacable and intolerant, so diabolically thorough in its indoctrination and so ruthless in enforcing its totalitarian control even in China that Chiang Kai-shek should be supported despite his shortcomings because he alone sees this and has been uncompromising in resisting it...."

Dr. Hu perceived, as Mr. Acheson still does not, that bad as the Nationalist government might be, it can not be as bad for China — and the world — as Communism. In politics the choice is not likely to be between good and bad, but between the lesser of two evils.

But nothing in the White Paper is more sickening than its misrepresentations of the amount of aid the U.S. sent the Nationalists. The aid supposedly sent amounted to \$2,000,000,000. According to the White Paper it was tossed down the rathole of Nationalist corruption. But when the listing is examined, it is clear that none of it, save for the \$400,000,000 military-economic program forced on the State Department by Congress in 1948, was actually designed to combat Communism.

The other items include lend-lease equipment provided the Chinese to combat the Japanese. UNRRA benefits which are listed were for postwar relief and rehabilitation, of which Red China received a share. The surplus property sales, by express order of General Marshall, did not include weapons to fight armed Communism.

Underlying all the figures of aid is, of course, the basic attitude of the State Department's China experts. The White Paper annexes are studded with their shrill warnings against aid lest Chiang use it to fight the Reds. In a monstrous twist of animosity these pro-Communist partisans now blame Chiang for using aid ineffectively against the Communists.

For its own purposes the White Paper makes much of the steady deterioration of morale in Nationalist China. Yet, the fact is that U.S. diplomacy delivered blow after blow to Nationalist morale — climaxed by the White Paper. For the mighty American champion of world freedom had singled out the Nationalist leaders as too contemptible for encouragement. Yet Mr. Acheson could say, with a straight face, that the State Department had "pursued vigorously....the....objective of assisting the Nationalist Government...."

And now Mr. Acheson has decided to abandon Formosa. He had already written off the island fortress prior to the Korean war. In a secret memorandum smoked out by the United Press last January the State Department advised its attaches abroad to sell the public the idea that Formosa was of no strategic value.

Politically, geographically, and strategically, the memo said, Formosa "is in no way especially distinguished or important." This was not the State Department view on June 3, 1945. The State Department bulletin then stated that "with the exception of Singapore, no location in the Far East occupies such a controlling position" as does Formosa.

Neither is it the view of the top military strategists. General Douglas MacArthur, in the Formosa statement the Administration wanted to suppress, had stated that "the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area."

But Mr. Acheson doesn't think so and by his recent actions he again undermined anti-Communist hopes in China. Time-Life correspondent John Osborne, reporting last Oct. 2 from Formosa, quoted a member of the Chinese Nationalist cabinet:

"If I could see Mr. Acheson tomorrow morning, I would ask him just two questions. Does he want us to live, or does he want us to die? Does he want us to grow strong on this island, or does he want to throw us off this island?"

Representative Hugh Scott, on his recent return from Korea, reported that American troops there wanted to know: "What about this guy Acheson? Is he on our side?"

They had good cause to wonder.

While American troops were fighting a bitter war in Korea Mr. Acheson's be-~~lie~~-to-Russia policies continued. Even the American Federation of Labor rebelled at Mr. Acheson's desire to continue business as usual with Russia and her satellites. Said AFL president William Green last September:

"We should stop shipping goods to Russia and other Communist countries because they will use them to prepare for war against us."

But Mr. Acheson persuaded Mr. Truman to condemn the refusal of AFL longshoremen to unload Soviet-manufactured furs and crabmeat on American docks. Mr. Truman announced that he and Mr. Acheson were making foreign policy — not the longshoremen.

It was Mr. Acheson's foreign policy which led directly to Korea.

On Jan. 12, 1950, in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington, Mr. Acheson virtually abandoned Asia to Russia.

Mr. Acheson declared that our "defensive perimeter runs along the Aleutians to Japan and then goes to the Ryukyus." This policy statement immediately ruled out any defense of Korea or Formosa — both lying above that perimeter.

Mr. Acheson jeered at Senator Robert A. Taft's proposal that we send a fleet to protect Formosa against Red invasion. He said he didn't realize that the Ohio Republican was a military expert.

Prior to that Mr. Acheson had sanctioned the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. Had our occupation of Korea continued possibly the North Korean attack would not have taken place. Had the attack taken place, however, our troops who landed there last June would have had adequate bases, supplies and equipment at hand.

Following the American withdrawal, Mr. Acheson announced: "If South Korea were invaded, our attitude would be that South Korea would be able to resist."

Mr. Acheson, whose sole military training consisted of several months in the Navy during World War I, had never consulted with General MacArthur on Far East policies. Instead it was Owen Lattimore who was asked by the State Department for advice on what to do in the Far East.

And Mr. Lattimore, in a secret memorandum to the State Department, proposed that Korea should be allowed "to fall without making it look as if the United States had pushed it." Syngman Rhee to Mr. Lattimore was just a "little Chiang Kai-shek."

With this background, the masters of the Kremlin thought they would face no U.S. opposition in taking over Korea. But they miscalculated. For President Truman, disregarding Mr. Acheson, decided that he had been pushed around enough by the Russians.

But Mr. Acheson's appeasement policies continued. Although we pledged our naval and air power to prevent a Red invasion of Formosa, we prevented Chiang from continuing offensive operations against the Red-held mainland. And we rejected Chiang's offer of American-equipped, battle-hardened Nationalist troops for Korea.



4/29/54

[REDACTED] is a naturalized American citizen (1942) -- is  
He is a protege of ALGER HISS and was first employed -  
by the Department of State on June 6, 1944.

\*In 1946 his position was [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] which came under the Office of  
Special Political Affairs of which ALGER HISS was the Director at  
that time.

140-195-50

1A

4/29/54

One of [REDACTED] close associates is D. V. SUMNER - present position is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs — in 1946 he was Chief of the Division of International Organization Affairs which came under the Office of Special Political Affairs of which ALGER HISS was the Director. It is also interesting to note that JOHN C. ROSS, who in 1946 was Deputy Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs of which ALGER HISS was Director, is now Deputy Representative in the Security Council of the United Nations.

140-195-50

2/24/51

When  
negotiating for position with BEW in 12/41  
applicant named ALGER-HISS as person familiar  
with his capabilities and efficiencies.  
HISS and applicant both employed by same law firm  
between 1930 and 1932.

118-8988-6

2/24/51

In reviewing the latter file, it was noted that prior to accepting employment with the OPA, applicant directed a letter to one MORRIS ROSENTHAL of the Board of Economic Warfare on 12/24/41, in regard to a position with that agency. This letter reads in part as follows:

"As I have already told you, ALGER HISS at the State Department or ARCHIBALD MacLEISH of the Office of Facts and Figures can apprise you of my capabilities, deficiencies, etc."

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, a confessed Soviet agent, in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 8/3/48, stated that ALGER HISS was a member of the Communist

118-8988-6

2/24/51

Party underground group in Washington, D. C. during the late 1930's. He further stated that HISS furnished him with confidential State Department documents and information, aware that these documents and this information would be furnished to his, CHAMBERS', Soviet principals. HISS denied these allegations as well as his association with CHAMBERS in testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and a Federal Grand Jury convening in the Southern District of New York. He was subsequently charged with Perjury and following his conviction in said district, he was sentenced on 1/25/50 to five years imprisonment. At the present time HISS is out on bond pending an appeal of his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court.

During the investigation made by this Bureau in connection with the HISS case, it was developed that from October 1930 to April 1932 when he entered government service HISS was employed as an attorney for Choate, Hall & Stewart, 30 State Street, Boston, Mass. It is noted that applicant was working for the same firm during that period.

118-8988-6

2/24/51

The information that ALGER HISS was employed as an attorney for SCHOATE, PAUL & STEWART, 30 State Street, Boston, Mass. from October 1930 until April 1932, when he entered the government service, was extracted from the report of SA FREDERICK M. CONNORS dated 1/3/49 at Boston, Mass. in the case entitled "J. DAVID WHITAKER CHAMBERS, WAS; ALGER HISS, ETAL, PERJURY, ESPIONAGE - R; INTERNAL SECURITY - R".

118-8988-6

12/4/51

Reference HARRY MAIZLISH volunteered the information that he was personally acquainted with ALGER HISS, having met him on several occasions in New York City. He stated he had a number of talks with Mr. HISS about politics and Government. MAIZLISH declared that HISS was not guilty of perjury and that he did not think ALGER HISS was a courier for a Soviet espionage ring and he stated it is his belief that HISS was a loyal American citizen. He stated that many good Americans were duped into contributing or sponsoring organizations subsequently declared to be subversive.

123-12404-6

10/31/61

The next question, according to the informant, came from SELMA SAMOLS\* who asked if many people had been convicted of perjury as a result of testifying before HCUA. FORER\* replied that two people had, one of whom is ALGER HISS.

100-434886-18



2/14/51

Confidential Informant T-63, of known reliability, advised in January 1949 that he had heard his father mention that there was a clique in the Department of Agriculture in the middle 1930's composed of JEROME FRANK, LEE PRESSMAN, ALFRED HISS, C. B. BLOWEN, and PAUL APPLEBY.

101-5243-17

6/17/52

On January 27, 1949, WILDER FOOTE advised an agent of the F.B.I. that he first became acquainted with ALGER HISS when he joined the State Department. He stated he became friendly with HISS, and they visited each other with their wives in their respective homes for social evenings, both in Washington, D.C., and New York.

100-338861-135

6/17/52

WARE-ABT-WITT GROUP

HAROLD WARE  
JOHN ABT  
NATHAN WITT  
LEE PRESSMAN  
ALGER HISS  
DONALD HISS  
HENRY HILL COLLINS  
CHARLES KRAMER (mentioned PERLO Group)  
VICTOR PERLO (mentioned PERLO Group)

Subject was asked concerning all the above-mentioned individuals and he gave the following comments:

100-338861-135

6/17/52

ALGER HISS

WEINTRAUB testified that he knew HISS casually in the State Department and had met him on several occasions when ALGER HISS was President of the Carnegie Fund.

DONALD HISS

WEINTRAUB testified that he had a most casual acquaintance with DONALD HISS and ran into him once or twice in the State Department.

100-338861-135

INVENTORY WORKSHEET

FILE NO: See References

RE: Alger Hiss

DATE March 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
123-3980-6	11/18/49	wfo Report	8	2	N.P.
100-331934-6	1/31/51	Los Angeles Report	11	1	N.P.
116-239035-4	7/12/51	Philadelphia letter	2	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
116-175444-8	5/24/50	New York Report	6	1	N.P.
116-198861-15	12/11/56	memo Roach to Belmont	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
116-102440-26	8/27/51	Philadelphia Report	3	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
100-342893-147	11/30/65	New York Letter	9	1	N.P.
100-336845-10	6/26/45	memo TRACY to the Director w/enc	4	4	—
116-88322-9	4/11/50	New York Report	8	6	N.P.
116-88322-19	8/14/50	New York Report	2	1	N.P.

11/18/49

WFO 123-3695

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

T-2 and T-3, of unknown reliability, advised that L. CORRIN STRONG and wife, Mrs. ALICE TROWBRIDGE STRONG, held a party on December 23, 1941 in Washington, D. C. T-2 and T-3 further advised that among the guests at the STRONG party were ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS. The Informants did not know the relationship between the STRONGS and the HISSES.

kel

T-4, of known reliability, advised that ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS were members of the Communist underground during the late 1930's and both were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy during that period.

11/18/49

INFORMANT PAGE

T-1 [REDACTED]

T-2 and T-3 [REDACTED]

T-4 is JAY WHITTAKER ~~CHAMBERS~~.

T-5 [REDACTED]

123-3980-6

1/31/51

LA 100-22231

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

*rel*

T-5 further pointed out that the AHWI had recently held a meeting to collect money for the defense of JUDITH COPLOV, VALENTINE GUBACHEV and ALGER HISS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: July 12, 1951

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He further stated that he believed [REDACTED] to be a first cousin of both LUDWIG HILLMAN and GREGORY SILVERMASTER. According to [REDACTED] these two men were mentioned prominently by the press as having some connection with the ALGER HISS case.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

JMK:jmg/mtp  
116-20281

cc: Newark  
Ph File 100-34909  
Ph File 65-4043

SE-30  
INDEXED - 15

116-239035-4  
JUL 15 1951

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

It is to be noted that in the case entitled "JAY DAVID WHITAKER CHAMBERS, with aliases; ALGER HISS; etal, PERJURY; ESPIONAGE-R; INTERNAL SECURITY-R", Bureau file 74-1333, that PENDLETON HERRING and CLIFFORD HAVES were interviewed by an agent of the New York Office as reflected in the report of SA JOSEPH M. KELLY, dated February 8, 1949, at New York, New York.

*Miss*

On January 20, 1949, PENDLETON HERRING, President of Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, advised SA JAMES T. NEAGLE, that he has known ALGER HISS since their college days at Johns Hopkins University and that he frequently saw HISS when both were associated with Carnegie Enterprises due to the fact that the Carnegie Corporation afforded HISS office space in order that he (HISS) would have an office downtown for his convenience. He stated that he had afforded HISS an introduction to several members of the Harvard Club and that he felt that HISS, because of his position and type of work would need the facilities of such a club as the Harvard Club to entertain at luncheons and the like while in midtown Manhattan.

In January, 1949, CLIFFORD HAVES, Manager, Harvard Club, 27 West 44th Street, advised SA JAMES T. NEAGLE that ALGER HISS was proposed for membership in this club on April 29, 1947 by PENDLETON HERRING, residence 219 Rockingstone Avenue, Larchmont, Executive Secretary, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 522 Fifth Avenue.

The files of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York reflect that on January 21, 1950, ALGER HISS was found guilty of violation of Title 18, United States Code 1621 (Perjury), on two counts. On January 25, 1950 he was sentenced to five years imprisonment on each of the two counts, the sentences to run concurrently.

[REDACTED]

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 11, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

This faculty had been

Rel member told that an active backer of Alger Hiss

[REDACTED]

Rel The files on do not reflect any information indicating he was a close associate of Alger Hiss.

CWB: jlk  
(4)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Bates

116-198861  
121-33135

RECORDED-6  
INDEXED-6

116-198861-15

20 DEC 14 1956

DEC 14 1956



11/30/65

NY 100-80319

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALGER HISS

Author of "In The Court of Public Opinion" (1957)  
in the current catalogue, is HISS' version of his  
conviction.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : S. J. TRACY, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR  
SUBJECT: FRIENDS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC  
ALGER HISS

DATE: June 26, 1945

Attention: MR. H. CARSON

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
All right  
M. J. [unclear]  
[unclear]

There is transmitted herewith the original of the notes prepared by Mr. ALGER HISS. After a conversation with certain representatives of the organization known as the Friends of the Spanish Republic, Mr. HISS caused this memorandum to be prepared on May 23, 1945. The conversation between the Friends of the Spanish Republic and Mr. HISS concerned the deliberations of the Committee on Membership of the United Nations Conference on International Organization with particular reference to Franco Spain.

On May 25, 1945, the Communist version of the conversation between the Friends of the Spanish Republic and ALGER HISS came in over a tech. The version of the call as reported by members of the Communist Political Association was forwarded to the Bureau along with copies of memorandum which is attached hereto. This memorandum is being transmitted in order that the original may be available.

Enclosure

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-336845-10

F B I

29 JUL 2 1945

499

*Handwritten initials and numbers:*  
S  
515

*Handwritten:*  
ENC: 199

58 JUL 14 1945

May 28, 1948

Memorandum of Conversation

Participants: Miss Lillie Shultz, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Friends of the Spanish Republic  
Mr. Leigh Athearn, member of the Council of the Friends of the Spanish Republic  
Mr. Alger Hiss  
Mr. John Thacher

*Handwritten notes:*  
Lillie Shultz  
John Thacher  
Alger Hiss  
Leigh Athearn

Miss Shultz called at Mr. Hiss' office to inquire which would be the appropriate committee of the Conference to adopt a formula which would automatically bar France Spain from ever becoming a member of the United Nations. Miss Shultz referred to two formulae which she previously had mailed to Mr. Hiss. She considered that some definite action should be taken, not specifically against France, but against any government which had been imposed upon a nation with the military aid of the Axis and which had assisted the Axis during the present war. She greatly feared that France Spain being a neutral, recognized by the two great democracies, might eventually be able to join the United Nations. At a later moment in the conversation, however, she pointed out that should France join the United Nations in the war against Japan that France would have a still better chance of being admitted to the United Nations. In view of the fact that France was making a desperate struggle to align himself with the Allies, she said that no time should be lost in taking action that would definitely debar his government or any similar government from joining the United Nations.

In answer to a specific request by Miss Shultz, Mr. Hiss stated that it would not be possible for a representative of her Organization to appear either before a committee or commission of the Conference as the Steering Committee had ruled that only representatives of the five intergovernmental organizations could be so invited.

If Miss Shultz wished to bring her formulae to the attention of the various delegations, she of course was perfectly free to distribute them herself, but Mr. Hiss said he did not feel that the International Secretariat could do so.

It appeared that Miss Shultz had already taken this action in at least a number of cases.

Mr. Hiss

100-336845-10

ENCLOSURE

Mr. Hiss stressed the fact that he believed it was the desire of the Conference to draft as flexible a charter as possible, based on general principles and not on specific formulae so that, by interpretation, the Charter could deal with any unforeseen situation that might arise in the future.

It was pointed out to Miss Shultz that the aim of the Conference was to draft a Charter which, in certain respects, might be compared to a constitution but not to a legal act.

Miss Shultz was informed that the membership provision in the Charter would almost certainly be based upon the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and, therefore, would provide that membership be open to all peace-loving states and to any nation able and willing to accept the principles of the organization. The case of each nation would be reviewed separately and would have to be considered by the Security Council as well as by the Assembly.

Miss Shultz stated that her Organization had been very much concerned by a statement made by the Secretary of State to the effect that the question of Spain being admitted to the United Nations "might properly be considered, after the United Nations Charter had been set up". In view of Spain's aid to the Axis and of the activities of the guerrilla in South America, Miss Shultz was at a loss to understand this point of view. Mr. Hiss explained that the question of any particular applicant would be up to the organization itself.

Mr. Hiss stated unofficially that it seemed to him extremely unlikely that the question of admitting Spain would come up during the Conference.

Mr. Hiss informed Miss Shultz that after a Charter has been approved by the members of the Conference, an interim commission will in all likelihood be established in order to carry out the necessary administrative business, be custodian of the records and to draw up the agenda for the first meeting of the Organization, but the duties of this interim commission would be purely non-political. The interim commission would of course be dissolved after the Charter was ratified by the participating nations and a permanent organization established.

Miss Shultz stated that she had heard severe criticism of the non-friendly attitude taken toward Spain by the United States Ambassador in Madrid. She also stated that six Latin American countries had wished to take action against Spain at the Pan-American Conference but had been dissuaded from so doing by the United States Delegation. She understood that one country was even considering at the present moment sponsoring Spain for membership in the United Nations. Mr. Hiss made no comment on these statements.

Miss Shultz



Miss Shultz was informed in reply to inquiries that the Commissions and Plenary sessions were open to the public, that verbatim minutes were taken and that the rapporteur of any committee could in his report clarify the exact meaning of the wording of any portion of the Charter under consideration.

Miss Shultz admitted that should an amendment or interpretation formula, such as she had in mind, be brought up at a committee or commission and not be accepted, then her cause would be worse off than if no such action had been taken.

Miss Shultz felt very strongly that the Franco Regime might fall should the Spanish people realize that they could never be accepted as a member of the United Nations as long as the Franco Regime was in power. On the other hand she considered the fall of Franco inevitable anyway. She apparently felt that should some action be taken now by the United Nations to exclude Franco it might hasten Franco's fall and avoid a revolution.

*cc to Thacher  
Nickerson*

Secor:JSThacher

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

NY FILE NO. **116-18703** *VDA*

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4-11-50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3-8, 17, 22, 24, 31; 4-3, 10-50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>RAYMOND A. MULLINS</b>
TITLE <b>DONALD ALEXANDER FLANDERS - CH - 214, aka "Moll"</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>[REDACTED]</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

**[REDACTED]**

**[REDACTED]**

**[REDACTED]**

**[REDACTED]**

Investigation in this case was reinstated at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission by letter dated February 23, 1950 advised the Bureau it had received information to the effect that Mrs. FRISCILLA HISS supposedly testified during the ALGER HISS trial that the HISSSES were at the farm of Dr. and Mrs. DONALD FLANDERS in Chappaqua, New York at a time when WHITTAKER CHAMBERS alleged he was visiting with the HISSSES in their home on 30th Street, Washington, D. C.

The following are pertinent excerpts from the testimony given in the second HISS trial by Mr. and Mrs. HISS upon direct examination by Mr. HISS' Attorney, CLAUDE CROSS:

DIRECT TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS

Q. I want to ask you, Mr. Hiss, whether or not Mr. and Mrs. Crosley, or anyone who now turns out to be by any name Mr. and Mrs. Chambers, spent New Year's Eve at your 30th Street house, on New Year's Eve, 1936?

A. No, sir, they did not.

**[REDACTED]**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward Schmitt</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 1 - New York 5 APR 13 1950	116-88322-9 RECORDED - 131 INDEXED - 131 EX-118

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N.P.

NY 116-18703

- Q. Were the Crosleys ever in your 30th Street apartment?
- A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. Where did you spend Christmas, 1936?
- A. With my brother-in-law, and his wife, Mr. Thomas Fansler in New York, his apartment.
- Q. And what days were you there?
- A. I think we got up there about December 23, 22 or 23, and stayed there through Christmas Day.
- Q. Where did you go from there?
- A. We went out to Chappaqua, New York, to the home of Dr. and Mrs. Donald Flanders.
- Q. And how long were you there?
- A. I was there a couple of nights.
- Q. Where did you go then?
- A. I then came back to New York, and very shortly after that returned to Washington where I had to go after my vacation.
- Q. Did your stepson and your wife accompany you first to Mr. Fansler's?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And then to Dr. Flanders?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did the Fanslers have children?
- A. Yes, three daughters at that time.
- Q. How about Dr. Flanders? Did he have children?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And what ages?

116-88322-9

*P.P.*

NY 116-18703

- Red*
- A. Three children at that time - the oldest was approximately the same age as Timmy in both families ---
- Q. Who was then---
- A. In 1936 he was ten years old, and the other two children in both families were each about two years younger stepping down.
- Q. When you left Dr. Flanders at Chappaqua what was the date, as near as you can fix it?
- A. Say about December 27th.
- Q. Was Mrs. Hiss and Timmy there when you left?
- A. Yes, they stayed behind.
- Q. Were you in communication with them from the time you returned to Washington for the next few days?
- A. I was.
- Q. What was the form of the communication that you had with your wife?
- A. Well, I know that I had either a telephone call, a telegram or a letter, I am not absolutely sure of the form of the communication.
- Q. Did you write her a letter while she was at Chappaqua and after your return to Washington?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What was the date of the letter?
- A. This letter is postmarked December 30, 1936.
- Q. Addressed to Mrs. Hiss-----?
- A. Care of Donald Flanders, Chappaqua, New York.
- Q. And have you or Mrs. Hiss located this letter since these hearings started?
- A. Oh yes.
- Q. And is that the letter that you wrote in Washington and addressed to Mrs. Hiss in Chappaqua and mailed on December 30, 1936?
- A. It is.

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N.P.

NY 116-18703

Q. And when did Mrs. Hiss return to Washington?

A. Some time after New Year's Day.

Q. Are you able to tell us the day of the week that December 27 was in 1936?

A. I would not be sure without looking at the calendar (calendar is handed to Hiss by Mr. Cross). Which day, Mr. Cross were you asking me about?

Q. December 27, 1936.

A. December 27, 1936 was a Sunday.

Q. Was a Sunday?

A. Yes.

Q. Which day of the week would December 31 be?

A. A Thursday.

Q. A Thursday?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Had Mrs. Hiss and Timmy returned to Washington prior to the end of the weekend following the 31st?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Did Timmy contract chicken pox on this trip?

A. He did.

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DIRECT TESTIMONY OF FRISCILLA HISS

Q. Did Mr. and Mrs. Chambers, or Crosley, as you knew them then, spend New Year's Eve with you and Mr. Hiss on the evening of December 31, 1936?

A. No.

Q. Where had you spent Christmas of 1936, Mrs. Hiss?

A. In New York.

Q. With whom had you spent that Christmas?

A. With my brother Tom and his family.

Q. And who was with you?

A. My husband and Timmy.

Q. After Christmas, where did you go?

A. We all went out to Chappaqua.

Q. Who did you go to visit there?

A. To Mrs. Fansler's sister, Mrs. Donald Flanders.

Q. How long did you stay there?

A. I stayed there for some time.

Q. At some time did your son Timmy contract chicken pox?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. Would you be able to fix the time that your son came down with chicken pox?

A. You mean by my memory Mr. Cross?

Q. Yes.

A. I would have to say it was a few days after Xmas. I remember what the record said.

Q. Had you been at the Flanders before?

A. Yes, many times.

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In connection with the testimony of ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS concerning their trip to Chappaqua, New York, it is to be noted that when Dr. MARGARET NICHOLSON, a Washington, D. C. Pediatrician, testified in the HISS case

*N. P.*  
NY 116-18703

she indicated her records revealed she treated TIMMY HOBSON on January 2, 3 and 6, 1937 and several times in February, 1937.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent THOMAS P. LYNCH at Chappaqua, New York:

Dr. F. RENE MURAD, 359 East Main Street, Mt. Kisco, New York, advised he had been the FLANDERS' family doctor from about 1934 to the time they moved from Chappaqua and that he recalled making a visit to the FLANDERS house with reference to treating a child of a guest at the home of Mr. and Mrs. FLANDERS. He stated that he could not recall the period nor the person's name in this regard, adding that he has no records dating back to that time. He pointed out that he had been contacted by the attorney for ALGER HISS (name of attorney not known), during the trial of HISS, with regard to his treatment of Mrs. HISS' child and had attempted to locate a record to this effect but had been unsuccessful.

Mrs. PAINE advised she had met Mr. and Mrs. ALGER HISS at the FLANDERS' home in the summer of 1942 or 1943 when invited for tea and again met ALGER HISS and his wife in the FLANDERS' company at the PAINE' home a short time later when the FLANDERS dropped in and the HISSES were with them. Mrs. PAINE stated that she recalled Mrs. FLANDERS telling her that applicant had dropped in to see ALGER HISS and his wife in Washington, D. C. when FLANDERS was en route to Los Alamos, New Mexico to begin his work there sometime ago.

116-88322-9

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

NY FILE NO. 116-18703 MB

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8/14/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>8/3,8/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>RAYMOND A. MULLINS</b>
TITLE <b>DONALD ALEXANDER FLANDERS - CH - 214, aka, "Moll"</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>[REDACTED]</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He further stated that, to his knowledge, the FLANDERS have been close friends of ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS since he just became acquainted with Dr. FLANDERS. He recalled that Dr. and Mrs. FLANDERS made a trip to Denmark or Sweden in the summer of 1936 or 1937 and left the keys to their home at Chappaqua, New York with the HISS family while they were away. It is his belief that the close friendship between the two families was occasioned by their common religious background more so than because they were related by marriage.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *[Signature]* IN CHARGE

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116-88322-19

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*[Handwritten notes and initials]*

AUG 15 1950

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

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INDEXED



## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

FILE NO:

See References

RE:

Alger Hiss

DATE

March 1977

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SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
116-88322-28	6/5/51	Chicago Letter	2	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
116-88322-42	4/7/53	Chicago Letter	7	5	N.P.
116-88322-52	6/28/54	Philadelphia Report	5	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
116-174000-6	6/22/50	Baltimore Report	25	2	N.P.
100-184255-311	10/28/48	memo whitson to Fletcher w/encl.	-	-	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
100-184255-343	6/19/50	Pages 247, 248, +249 of the Book <u>mem without faces</u> by Bedenz	4	4	—
100-184255-336	5/23/49	New York Report	28	10	N.P.
138-2502-23	3/4/54	New York Report	19	2	N.P. (b)(7)(D)
116-241445-13	7/20/51	New York Report	33	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
100-460495-5360	3/10/72	Philadelphia Letter w/encl	6	6	—
			129	34	

6/5/51

On May 5, 1951, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished the following information:

[REDACTED] had recently advised [REDACTED] that SARAH FLANDERS, wife of a Scientist engaged in Confidential work at the Argonne National Laboratory, was soliciting funds and aid for the release or new trial of ALGER HISS.

Mrs. FLANDERS, according to [REDACTED], dominated the conversation at this table and was outspoken in her contention that ALGER HISS, her close friend, had been falsely accused of perjury in his recent trial and she, in accordance with her interest in Civil Rights Programs, was leading a drive to solicit funds and aid for a new defense for HISS. Mrs. FLANDERS, supposedly added, that she and a group of Law Professors at the University of Chicago were working together on this project.

[REDACTED] also stated that after the above mentioned luncheon, Mrs. FLANDERS accompanied [REDACTED] and several ladies to a restaurant where Mrs. FLANDERS openly asked the aid of these ladies in support of HISS.

added that he heard rumors to the effect DONALD FLANDERS' wife had made

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116-88322-28

JUN 7 1951

25

EX - 63

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A

6/5/51

Letter, Director, FBI

attempts to solicit funds and support for a retrial of AGOST NIBL  
prior to the Supreme Court decision in this matter.

116-88322-28

4/7/53

The Atomic Energy Commission, Lemont, Illinois, sent FLANDERS a letter of notification with the following allegations:

A. It was reported that FLANDERS and his wife had been close personal friends of ALGER HISS; that HISS and his wife visited in FLANDERS' home many times and that FLANDERS' wife solicited funds for defense of ALGER HISS in the fall of 1950 and again in 1951 in solicitation of funds to support a retrial for HISS. It is noted that HISS was convicted in Federal Court, January, 1950, on charges of perjury and also reported to have been involved in Communist and espionage acts on behalf of Russia.

116-88322-42

4/7/53

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: DONALD ALEXANDER FLANDERS

The transcript reflected that FLANDERS sent a responsive letter to the Atomic Energy Commission and presented the following explanations to the allegations set forth by the Atomic Energy Commission's letter of notification. The explanations of FLANDERS in his responsive letter correspond to the paragraphs of the allegations set forth in the Atomic Energy Commission letter.

FLANDERS stated in his letter that THOMAS MASSING, brother of FRISCILLA, was a classmate of his at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, during the years 1920 - 1924. He explained that he met FRISCILLA at this period and also met ALGER HISS a classmate of FRISCILLA by the name ROBERT HISS to whom ALGER HISS later became engaged.

In 1924 he met ROBERT HISS's sister, SARA, whom he later married and is presently his wife. FLANDERS explained that he met ALGER HISS through his wife, FRISCILLA, about the end of 1929.

This letter also reflected that in 1946 the HISSes were residing in New York City and the FLANDERS resided at Chippewa, New York and that during the period they resided in this vicinity, 1944 - 1946, they visited the HISSes off and on.

According to FLANDERS' letter he termed the Whittaker Chambers testimony against HISS as incredible.

The letter explained that in 1951 FLANDERS and family moved to the Chicago area and that during the summer of 1948 his wife, SARA FLANDERS, attended one day of the first trial of ALGER HISS and had lunch with the HISSes and some of their friends at that time. During the summer of 1950, after convictions resulting from the second trial of ALGER HISS, FLANDERS and his wife spent a day and night with FRISCILLA HISS at their home, Peasham, Vermont. The letter reflected that during that visit ALGER HISS was in New York, New York.

116-88322-42

4/7/53

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: DONALD ALEXANDER FLANDERS

The responsive letter of FLANDERS reflected that there was nothing in his contacts with HISS which ever indicated any ingredient of character consistent with the act of espionage to which CHAMBERS testified at the HISS trial. It reflected that he and his wife, Mrs. FLANDERS, believed the testimony at the trial was inconsistent with their observation and knowledge of HISS and they could not accept CHAMBERS' testimony as they read it in the newspapers. For that reason SARA FLANDERS solicited funds for the defense of HISS to clear himself.

116-88322-42

4/7/53

A member of the Hearing Board asked FLANDERS if HISS was paroled would he, FLANDERS, feel free to visit him as frequently and talk with him as intimately as he had in the past. FLANDERS testified, in substance, that his attitude toward HISS was based on the assumption that HISS was innocent. FLANDERS testified that he would want to be able to visit with HISS as occasion offered and to talk with him and to do what he reasonably could to help him. FLANDERS testified that he would want to maintain his friendly relations with ALGER HISS.

Mrs. ~~SARA SHOTWELL MURPHY~~ FLANDERS, wife of Doctor FLANDERS, testified that her sister, ROBERTA MURPHY, married THOMAS FANSLER who is the brother of PRISCILLA HISS. Mrs. FLANDERS

III

116-88322-42

4/7/53

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: DONALD ALEXANDER FLANDERS

denied ever being a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. Mrs. FLANDERS testified that her confidence and friendship for and love for the HISSes has not been diminished by ALGER HISS' conviction.

116-88322-42



6/28/54

+ [redacted] understood Mrs. FLANDERS visited ALGER HISS at his home following his conviction on charge of perjury to prove she was not prejudiced. [redacted] believed Mrs. FLANDERS frequently visited the HISS family during World War II. H

116-88322-52

6/28/54

*fill*  
[redacted] stated that Mrs. FLANDERS was on a friendly *LL* basis and occasionally associated with ALGER HISS. He said her sister married THOMAS FANSLER, a classmate of Mr. FLANDERS at Haverford College and now employed by the National Safety Council in Chicago, Ill., whose sister, PRISCILLA, is the wife of ALGER HISS.

*1*  
[redacted] continued that it was his understanding that HISS, shortly after his conviction on perjury charges, was residing at his home located in Peachum, Vt., when Mrs. FLANDERS visited his home to prove that she was not prejudiced or that her friendship had not been alienated by his conviction. He said this was an example of her outspoken attitude and "middle-headedness." [redacted] advised that the employee and his wife owned a farm at East Chatham, N. Y., which is located in the same general vicinity as the house owned by HISS, and that it was his belief that Mrs. FLANDERS occasionally visited the HISS family at the above location during World War II.

116-88322-52

6/22/50

During a lengthy interview between January and April, 1949, JAY DAVID

116-174000-6

*N.P.*  
BA 116-11749

6/22/50

*rel*

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, self-described former member of the Communist Party, Communist Party Underground, and a Communist Party Espionage Apparatus, advised Special Agents THOMAS G. SPENCER and FRANCIS X. PLANT of the New York Division that in about the latter part of 1936 he used the apartment of certain individuals, later identified by him as WILLIAM SPIEGEL and ANNA S. SPIEGEL, for the purpose of maintaining photographic equipment, used by him in this apartment in such a manner as to make them almost surely cognizant of the nature of his activities. He used this equipment in the apartment to photograph documents obtained by him from ALGER HISS, Assistant to FRANCIS B. SAYRE, Assistant Secretary of State. He also used this apartment for keeping documents supplied to him by HENRY JULIAN WADLEIGH, HARRY DEXTER WHITE, and WARD PIGMAN. The material in these documents was obtained from official United States Government files, and he described HISS, WADLEIGH, WHITE, and PIGMAN as United States Government officials who were also members of this Communist Party espionage apparatus. He stated that he photographed these documents for transmittal to his superiors in the apparatus, and they were in turn to transmit them through channels to the Soviet Russian espionage apparatus.

CHAMBERS further advised that he is almost certain that both SPIEGEL and his wife were Communist Party members.

Investigation determined that the WILLIAM SPIEGEL . above identified by CHAMBERS, subsequently became Manager of the Stylecraft Division of L. Gordon and Sons, Inc., 1050 South Paca Street, Baltimore.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

New York 7, New York

June 19, 1950

MEMO:

RE:

J. V. Peters

IS-C

The attached clipping is from page 247, 248, 249 of the book "Men Without Faces" by LOUIS FRANCIS RUDENZ.

HPL:LJR

EDWARD SCHEIDT  
SAC NEW YORK, N.Y.

"CLOAK AND DAGGER"

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in the three largest capitalist countries in the Pacific" had made this their common call to the Filipinos. The Manifesto was no temporary spur to action; it was a permanent program, in which all Red parties joined, to "rid the Far East of imperialism and imperialists, and specifically of Yankee imperialism." This knowledge, he hoped, would underline for me the value of discovering men who could be of service in informing Soviet Russia (through him) of Yankee schemes in China and the Pacific.

100-184255-343

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## "Cloak and Dagger"

ON AN afternoon in the late spring of 1936 L. V. Peters (then functioning under the name of Jack Roberts) gave me some valuable information on Asia and the Pacific. It is unfortunate that all America could not have listened in on that conversation on Thirteenth Street.

Had America seen and heard us that day, it would have profited by knowing much earlier the man who directed Whittaker Chambers in obtaining stolen documents from the State Department and who was such a big factor in Alger Hiss' career. His work as "the link—the liaison man—between the Soviet secret police and the Communist International apparatus here," as he told me a little later, would have been surmised.

We were in conference on the Ninth Floor, where he had summoned me to get a report on the operation of a Reuter's News Agency correspondent in China who was an alleged Trotskyite. I obtained my data on such matters from Bill Reich, a Communist

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character—I had joined the party only about six months before—he proffered this advice:

"Begin then at the beginning, and acquaint yourself with the Resolution of the Sixth World Communist Congress on the Colonial Question and the Joint Manifesto to the Workers and Peasants of the Philippines."

Diving into his desk he brought out a printed copy of the Joint Manifesto. I noticed from its title that it came officially from the combined Communist parties of the United States, China and Japan, and was an appeal to the Filipinos to take up arms against the United States. What was more to the point, it set forth the united determination of the Communists in the Pacific areas, under Moscow's direction, to drive America out of the Pacific. The Reds of China, Japan and the United States urged upon the Filipino people the responsibility of depriving the United States of the islands as "a military base . . . for attempts to crush the ever-growing power of the Chinese Soviets" and "for the planned war of intervention against the Soviet Union . . ."

Having thus played upon the peace sentiments of the Filipinos, the Manifesto declared that the only way to peace was through the inevitable war on the side of Soviet Russia. The heart of the Manifesto asserted that the road to freedom from "Yankee imperialism" was along the following route:

*"It is necessary to add that self-determination will be a fraud, and independence will be unobtainable without the victorious armed revolutionary struggle of the masses of workers and peasants led by*

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ON AN afternoon in the late spring of 1936 J. V. Peters (then functioning under the name of Jack Roberts) gave me some valuable information on Asia and the Pacific. It is unfortunate that all America could not have listened in on that conversation on Thirteenth Street.

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We were in conference on the Ninth Floor, where he had summoned me to get a report on the operation of a Reuter's News Agency correspondent in China who was an alleged Trotskyite. I obtained my data on such matters from Bill Reich, a Communist agent in the Trotsky camp. When that question was settled, Peters brought up the possibility of my finding (among my friends who had championed Soviet recognition) one or two persons who could spy upon the "agents of American imperialism in the Far East."

It was in this connection that he suddenly asked me, in that abrupt, precisely worded manner of his: "Do you know the Stalinist perspectives in the Far East?"

Since I had to reply that my knowledge was only of a general



5/23/49

At  
this hearing WHITTAKER CHAMBERS identified ALEXANDER STEVENS as the  
"J. PETERS" he had known as director of an underground spy apparatus in  
the United States. CHAMBERS gave considerable testimony as to his  
knowledge of the espionage activities of "J. PETERS" and ALGER and DONALD  
// HISS. ADOLPH A. BERLE also appeared before the H.C.U.A. to testify  
that CHAMBERS had told his story to him in 1939. The subject declined to  
testify at this hearing on Constitutional grounds.

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"It was my understanding that HAROLD WARE, upon his return to the United States from Russia, had gone to Washington for the purpose of seeing what type of work he could engage in, in the agricultural field, which would aid the Communist Party. He secured a job in the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) and there found a small group of Communist Party sympathizers. This group included LEE/PRESSMAN, ALGER HISS, NATHAN/WITT and possibly CHARLES/KRIVITSKY. WARE then quickly realized that the possibilities for the Communist Party far exceeded this little group in AAA. I believe that either WARE, or WARE and J. PETERS, then began to organize 'Apparatus A'. However, HAROLD WARE himself retained his interest in the general agricultural field and I believe he retained a small underground apparatus which dealt with agricultural activities. WEBB/POWELL was the only member of this latter group that I knew. He worked closely with HAROLD WARE.....

"Shortly after my first visit to Washington, D.C. I was introduced to HENRY/COLLINS by HAROLD WARE in the former's apartment on St. Matthews Court. I recall that this was a two-story building and COLLINS' apartment was on the second floor. The first floor was taken up by a family of Negroes and a garage. I have an impression that the Negroes possibly worked in that garage. I also believe that the stairway to COLLINS' apartment was close to the entrance to the apartment occupied by the Negroes. On my first visit to COLLINS' apartment, I was introduced to him under the name of/CARL. I recall that at the time of my first

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"visit to COLLINS' apartment, the leading group in Apparatus A had assembled to hold a meeting. I was introduced to the people at this meeting simply as CARL and after some casual conversation with these individuals, they went into another room in the house to hold a meeting in which I did not participate. The group at this meeting were the leading members in Apparatus A and were as follows:

JOHN/ABT  
DONALD HISS

CHARLES KRIVITSKY  
VICTOR/PERLO

HENRY HILL/COLLINS, JR.  
LEE PRESSMAN

NATHAN WITT  
HAROLD WARE

"I do not recall definitely whether I met all of these individuals on the occasion of this visit to COLLINS' apartment but I think I did. I eventually saw all of these people at one time or another at one of these meetings in COLLINS' apartment. I knew from conversations with J. PETERS and HAROLD WARE that ALGER HISS was a member and a leader of this group and had been almost from its beginning. It is possible that ALGER HISS was there at the first meeting, but in order to be perfectly circumspect, I do not want to state this definitely. To the best of my knowledge, all or most of the people in this leading group knew ALGER HISS. I believe that my status as a courier was explained to the group at this first meeting. They met either weekly or fortnightly but as a group, went under no particular name. The purpose of my first visit to Washington on this occasion was merely to be introduced to the members of Apparatus A.....

"All of the leaders in Apparatus A and the members of the various cells were dues-paying members of the Communist Party. I knew of this from conversations with J. PETERS, ALGER HISS, A. GEORGE/SILVERMAN and probably HAROLD WARE. I also knew it from the fact that I was a courier for Apparatus A and I took dues to J. PETERS. I recall that the dues at that time were based on a certain percentage of the member's salary. I know that the percentage was high for the purpose of: first, securing revenue for the Party; and second, because it gave to Party members, with no open Party connections, the sense of being of real service and of underlining their loyalty. I might explain that these individuals in Apparatus A could not participate in any open Communist work which would divulge their underground Party affiliation. Consequently, as they were enthusiastic and anxious to be known as Party members, the fact of contributing high dues to the Party was somewhat in substitution of the activities of an open member of the Communist Party. I might note that this theory 'harps' back to a principle set forth in one of LENIN'S books to the effect that all good Communist Party members pay dues and

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"regular dues payment is one of the tests of loyalty to the Party. I recall that these high dues caused hardship to some of the members, but the only one who ever complained to me of their being high was A. GEORGE SILVERMAN.

"One of my jobs during this period was to collect these dues from the Treasurer of the group, HENRY HILL COLLINS, and take them to PETERS in New York. I do not recall the amount of these dues but can say that it was large. I was generally given a sealed envelope by COLLINS which contained this money and I merely carried it to J. PETERS.....

"At about this time, I was introduced to ALGER HISS. It was my impression that J. PETERS was present during this first meeting with HISS and I am definitely sure that HAROLD WARE was there. I do not recall just where this original introduction to HISS took place, but think that it was probably in a restaurant in downtown Washington.

"It was my understanding that at the time of my first going to Washington, ALGER HISS was separated from Apparatus A because of his just getting a new position with the Nye Committee. I had previously discussed ALGER HISS with J. PETERS and HAROLD WARE. It had been decided that he should become the first member of the parallel Apparatus B. During the meeting with ALGER, HAROLD WARE, PETERS and myself, it is my recollection that the nature of the new organization being developed was made known to him and he was perfectly agreeable to it.....

"The Communist Party insisted that he should go to California for the specific purpose of influencing the prosecution of this case in favor of BRIDGES. DONALD HISS at first was very agreeable to do this. However, when the appointment in the Phillipines Division of the State Department arose, PETERS weighed the alternative very carefully. PETERS and myself then discussed whether or not in the long run it might not be better for DONALD HISS to take the position in the Phillipines Division of the State Department. The decision was reached that DONALD should accept the position in the State Department. Subsequently, PETERS told DONALD HISS of his decision and in the course of resultant conversation, DONALD HISS strenuously objected to going into the State Department. I also had a conversation with DONALD on this subject. This conversation took place in the home of ALGER HISS. Again DONALD strenuously objected to making this change. Nonetheless, in the outcome, he agreed to accept party discipline

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and took this position in the State Department. I understand his work at the Philippines Division was more or less of a legal nature. He did not at that time have access to documents that would have been interesting to the Communist Party. Never, at any time, did he give me or to the best of my knowledge, anybody else, documents from the State Department.

"I continued to see him up to the time of my breaking with the Party in April, 1938, but saw him much less frequently than I saw ALGER HISS. It is my recollection that ALGER HISS always made the appointments for DONALD and these meetings always took place in ALGER HISS' home. However, ALGER HISS was not, as far as I can remember, ever present when I talked with his brother. The purpose of the meetings was chiefly to determine what he was doing and what the prospects were for procuring documents from the State Department. As I have stated previously, I never received any documents from DONALD nor did he deliver any documents from the State Department to anyone else to my knowledge. As I have stated above, I separated DONALD from Apparatus A several months after I first came to Washington. In part, DONALD'S separation from Apparatus A was to complete the separation of ALGER from the Apparatus, inasmuch as the two brothers saw one another frequently. Nevertheless, DONALD HISS retained his connection with J. PETERS. It was my impression that he also saw the leaders in Apparatus A frequently, although after his separation he ceased to attend meetings or participate in its activities.

"I might mention that J. PETERS was in and out of Washington all of the time that I was there. I recollect that I, myself, met him there on a number of occasions. I also saw him several times at COLLINS' apartment and know that he gave several talks to the members of Apparatus A in this apartment. On one occasion the topic of this conversation was 'The Theory of Underground Organizations and the Nature of Parallel Apparatuses'.....

"I would like to note that I knew from J. PETERS that throughout this period there was a constant and apparently a successful effort to bring to Washington, Communist Party members from other cities, especially New York and to secure Government positions for them. I will later describe how easily and quickly this was done in my own case.

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"The purpose of the new parallel apparatus, which I was to organize, was to take members from Apparatus A and other people with the idea of advancing them in the Government, particularly in the old line agencies, primarily, at this time, for the sake of penetration and to influence policy.

"I might note with reference to payment of dues in this new apparatus that ALGER and PRISCILLA HISS were consistent dues payers. They often discussed this question and due to the high dues, they had to budget carefully. They usually paid their dues to HENRY HILL COLLINS at surreptitious meetings. At least on one occasion and probably others, ALGER HISS gave me a sealed envelope which he said contained his Communist Party dues and which I was to give to J. PETERS. Later, after I was first connected with A. GEORGE SILVERMAN, I also took his dues to J. PETERS on more than one occasion. However, SILVERMAN presently stopped giving me his dues and the subject was not mentioned between us again. The persons mentioned above are the only ones from whom I ever personally received Communist Party dues. I can also recall one occasion on which DONALD HISS, either in person or through ALGER, gave me his Party dues to be paid to J. PETERS. Although HENRY JULIAN WADLEIGH, WARD PIGMAN, VICTOR RENO and HENRY DEXTER WHITE were members of my new apparatus, I never received any Communist Party dues from these people.....

"At the time ANDRE EMBREY and this girl began their employment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, I drove them and J. PETERS in a car from New York to Washington, D.C. I never saw this unnamed girl again, but I did see ANDRE EMBREY once more.

"I knew definitely that this girl was going to be the courier for Apparatus A from J. PETERS and from the conversation which ensued during the course of this trip to Washington. However, I cannot recall just what PETERS said or the conversation in the car on which I base this knowledge. I think that this girl had been a stenographer, but in Washington, was to be a secretary to ANDRE EMBREY. The latter, from what I could gather, was to be some kind of an executive assistant to COLLIER. I had the impression that EMBREY already had her position, though it is entirely possible that she had not begun to work yet. As to the other girl, I do not remember if she was already employed when she came to Washington with us, but if not, I know that it was within EMBREY'S power to give the position to her. At the time we picked

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"these girls up in New York City, it was my impression that both had been living here. However, I also know that they both came to Washington to stay and it is entirely possible that this unidentified girl lived in Washington with EMBREY for awhile. As I have related above, I never saw this girl again but did see ANDRE once again.

"On this occasion I was sent, probably by J. PETERS, to her residence. I cannot recall the reason or purpose for my visit there and can only state it is my recollection that she lived in an apartment that was located on Florida Avenue somewhere near the intersection of Connecticut and Florida Avenues.

"With reference to this automobile which I drove from New York to Washington, I recall that it was a Plymouth and PETERS kept it in a garage which was located on the south side of 12th Street, just east of Fourth Avenue in New York City. It was also my impression that this car was the property of the Communist Party and was not PETERS' own car.....

"I recall that this car was a dark or a black Ford Sedan with manually operated windshield wiper. As I have stated previously, I occasionally drove this car around Washington. My recollection is that sometime after I moved from the HISS apartment on 28th Street, N.W., I learned that ALGER had bought a new gray Plymouth. This Plymouth had been a floor model and according to ALGER, he got it at a reduction. As a result of this new purchase, ALGER had no use for the Ford and it was consequently parked on the street in all kinds of weather. After some time he decided to get rid of it. He proposed that the Ford be turned over to the open Communist Party for the use of some poor party organizer in the South or the West. I opposed this idea, since it would establish a direct link between the open Communist Party and the underground. ALGER, however, insisted and I then discussed the problem with J. PETERS and he also opposed it. Mr. HISS, however, still insisted and J. PETERS decided not to interfere. PETERS then told me that in Washington or nearby, there was a Communist who either owned or worked at a used car lot and filling station. According to PETERS, ALGER was to drive his Ford to this lot, contact this individual and leave the car. The rest would be taken care of.

"J. PETERS and ALGER HISS also had a conversation concerning this transaction at which I was not present. On this occasion, according to PETERS, he gave ALGER the address of the car lot and the name of the contact.

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At that time I did not know the address for the individual involved and did not ask. Shortly thereafter, ALGER took the Ford to the lot and completed the transaction. I was present in his house when he returned from making this transaction. I have a distinct recollection that as he was taking off his coat, he mentioned he had completed this transaction, but he furnished no details. Although my recollection is not too clear, I believe that this conversation took place when HISS was residing in Washington at the P Street, N.W. address. I might note that it was not until the hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee that I learned that the Cherner Motor Company was involved in this transaction. I also learned through this testimony that the Cherner Motor Company does not now operate a filling station, but that it did so at that time.

When I first met ALGER HISS, he had just begun his employment with the Nye Committee as Chief Counsel. Prior to this employment, he had been with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. While ALGER was employed by the Nye Committee, I saw him rather regularly. However, he was not performing any actual work for the underground other than actually being with the Nye Committee, other than a contact with a Colonel DEAN IVAN LAIB, concerning whom I will speak later. It was my understanding that he had taken this position with the permission of J. PETERS.

Sometime during the period of ALGER'S employment on the Nye Committee, it developed that the Committee were receiving or were about to receive some State Department documents. In some manner, J. PETERS heard of this and thought that it would be good for us to photograph these documents. I do not recall definitely but ALGER probably told me of the contemplated receipt by the Committee of these documents and I probably had brought this to PETERS' attention.

Subsequently the Committee did get these documents and ALGER brought them home and I photographed them with a Leica camera. I cannot recall definitely where I performed this photographic work. However, I will state that it was either in the HISS home on P Street or in the apartment of one JOHN HERRMAN in Washington, D. C.

JOHN HERRMAN was a New York Communist whom I had known as a member of the John Reed Club. I believe that he had written a novel in the 1920s which concerned itself with the trials of traveling salesmen. His wife

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"was one JOSEPHINE HERBST and she had written two or three novels. There was considerable age difference and a literary rivalry between these two people.

"I believe that the camera that I used in this instance was given me by J. PETERS and that I returned it to him eventually. It is my further recollection that it was an American made Leica, that it had a stand for photographing documents, and the camera and this stand were all contained in a suitcase.

"HERRMAN was an assistant of HAROLD WARE in his agriculture activities and he possibly had been active in Apparatus A. HERRMAN'S apartment was located on the west side of New Hampshire Avenue between Massachusetts Avenue and Dupont Circle. It was on the fourth floor of a new yellow brick building and I believe that the apartment was in his true name of HERRMAN. The building had an elevator which was operated by an attendant.

"As I have mentioned previously, I photographed these documents in either HISS' home or HERRMAN'S apartment and I am inclined to believe that it was performed in the former's place. I remember that I developed these films and they were not many in number, probably not more than ten. The negatives of these photographs I turned over to J. PETERS.....

"I am unable to recall just how long ALGER HISS remained with the Nye Committee. However, after some time STANLEY REED, Solicitor General of the United States, offered ALGER a position in the Department of Justice as Assistant Solicitor General. ALGER advised me of this offer and I, in turn, brought it to the attention of J. PETERS. PETERS instructed that HISS should take this position though there was no immediate purpose in view. I believe that ALGER kept this position as Assistant Solicitor General for rather a short time.

"He was then offered a position by FRANCIS SAYRE, the then Assistant Secretary of State in the State Department. This offer was likewise brought to my and J. PETERS' attention, and the latter again decided that ALGER should take this new offer. I believe that ALGER was somewhat hesitant about accepting this new position, inasmuch as his stay as Assistant Solicitor General had been of such short duration. Regardless of appearances in connection with his position in the Justice Department, PETERS and I decided he should make this change.....

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"I cannot remember exactly the contents. However, they may have been lists of Japanese agents and Chinese agents in Japanese employ, about which I will speak later. I photographed these in JOHN HERRMAN'S apartment. In order to return these documents to COE, I had arranged to meet him on a certain street in Washington, D. C., at a particular hour. However, COE was one hour late for this appointment, which fact made me very angry and alarmed. I have never seen COE since that time. The films of these documents, secured from HARRY DEXTER WHITE, were turned over by me to J. PETERS.

"Just about this time (1935), J. PETERS introduced me to DAVID CARPENTER in New York City. I was introduced to the latter under the name of CARL. PETERS indicated to me that CARPENTER had been in some kind of underground work in Washington and was connected with some people who might possibly be brought into my new apparatus, which as I have stated I will hereinafter refer to as Apparatus B.....

"At one time, and I think it was in early 1936, J. PETERS made, what he termed 'an interesting suggestion to me'. He said that until about the year 1929, Russia had subsidized the American Communist Party; however, beginning with the first Five Year Plan, subsidization was cut off. PETERS thought that the Soviet apparatuses could possibly support the Party activities. He suggested that I attempt to interest BILL in receiving documents from Washington, D. C., for which BILL would pay. I discussed this matter with BILL and at first he indicated that he was not interested. He later stated that he would like to see some samples of such documents. At this time I requested and received from JULIAN WADLEIGH and WARD PIGMAN a few transmissions. I photographed these and gave them to BILL for his examination. To the best of my recollection, I photographed these either in JOHN HERRMAN'S apartment or ALGER HISS' house. He was still uninterested and after possibly seeing four or five transmissions, the idea was dropped. BILL continued to insist that this material was of no interest to him.

"I believe that the camera I used to do this photographic work was the same one I had previously used in photographing the material received from ALGER HISS. However, I do not recall if I had retained the camera since that time or whether I again secured it from J. PETERS. I do know that I returned it to him finally and never saw it again. I also have no particular recollection at this time of the subject material of the documents which were photographed and supplied BILL.....

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3/4/54

NY 138-2023

kel

On February 18, 1949, [redacted] employee of the Department of Agriculture, was interviewed by SA JOHN E. VAN ETTEN. He advised that TELFORD TAYLOR was a close associate of ALGER HISS, both having worked rather closely in the Agriculture Department during the 1930s.

kel

On March 2, 1949, TELFORD TAYLOR, Brigadier General, Head of the War Crimes section, United States Army, was interviewed in his office in the Pentagon Building by SA THOMAS J. FARBY, and he advised that he first met ALGER HISS in 1934, when he had gone to work for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the Agriculture Department. He stated that HISS was somewhat younger than he and never considered himself to be a very close friend. TAYLOR explained that after HISS resigned, he took over HISS' duties and, therefore, worked closely with HISS for a few weeks in order to become acquainted with his duties. TAYLOR stated after HISS resigned, he only saw him a few times, at occasional cocktail parties.

[redacted]

From that time until May, 1948, he had not seen or heard of ALGER HISS. TAYLOR stated that when he returned from overseas in May, 1948, he contacted HISS in connection with his work in the War Crimes Trials, since he wanted HISS to publish some information concerning the trials, the arrangements for which were to be made by the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, with which HISS was then connected.

kel

TAYLOR went on to say that in about October, 1948, after the charges against HISS had appeared in the newspapers, but before the "Pumpkin Papers" had been exposed, HISS was in touch with him. According to TAYLOR, HISS told him that he wanted to go over some of the things that had happened during the period of their joint employment

3/4/54

[REDACTED]

in the Agriculture Department in order to refresh his memory.

TAYLOR concluded by stating that during his employment at the Agriculture Department, he believed that he may have been in ALGER HISS' home about six times, and that HISS and his wife came to their home about the same number of times.

The "New York Times" of August 4, 1948, page 1, column 1, carried an article entitled, "Red 'Underground' in Federal Post Alleged by Editor." The article stated that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 3, 1948, described ALGER HISS as a member of the CP "underground" operating in Washington, D.C. in the 1930s. The article further reflects that ALGER HISS was a former Director of Special Political Affairs in the State Department, Executive Secretary of the Lunbarton Oaks, and the Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference at the time the United Nations Charter was written.

On January 20, 1950, ALGER HISS was convicted on two counts of perjury by Federal Court and on January 25, 1950, he was sentenced to five years imprisonment on each count, the sentences to run concurrently.

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██████████ also advised that during the above-mentioned academic year of 1948-49 he vaguely recalls that ██████████ defended ALGER HISS or some other person accused of disloyalty on the ground that the action against that person or persons was all part of a national hysteria instigated by extreme right-wingers in politics. ██████████ stated that he does not know what ██████████ beliefs were after ALGER HISS was convicted of perjury in 1950.

He stated that he attributed any of applicant's associations with members of the Young Progressive Citizens of America and statements like the above concerning ALGER HISS, to the youth of ██████████ at that time.

116-241445-13

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-460495)  
ATTN: DOMINTEL

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-51190)(P)

SUBJECT: EASTCON - DEMONSTRATIONS  
OO: PHILADELPHIA

DATE: 3/10/72

Enclosed for Bureau and each receiving office is one copy of a 5-page press release issued by the Harrisburg Defense Committee (HDC) which sets forth plans of this organization for demonstrations during Holy Week, 1972, at Harrisburg, Pa.

Receiving offices obtain information concerning number and identity of persons from your divisions who plan to participate and immediately furnish same, with all pertinent information concerning them and their plans to the Philadelphia Office.

- CC-902<sup>b</sup>
- ② - Bureau (Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Albany (100-21655)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Albuquerque(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Baltimore(100-27708)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Boston (100-41615)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Chicago(100-45623)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Milwaukee(100- ) (Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Newark(100-52605)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - New Haven (100-20708)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - New York (100-168839)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Oklahoma City(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Omaha (Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - Pittsburgh(100-16840)(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 2 - St. Louis(Encl.-1)(RM)
  - 5 - Philadelphia
    - 1 - 100-51190-SUB L
    - 1 - 100-HDC
    - 1 - 100-NARMIC
    - 1 - 100-PCPJ
    - 1 - 100-VVAW

CRS/JJM  
(33)

REC-9 100-460495-5360

MAR 15 1972

NEW



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For immediate release

**HARRISBURG HOLY WEEK RALLIES  
WILL MOVE 'BEYOND PROTEST'**

(Attached: Holy Week program & flyer)

HARRISBURG, Pa., March 9 -- There'll be a special Holy Week in Harrisburg this year -- eight days of pageants and protest aimed at energizing the anti-war movement and building toward a new society.

Caravans of "pilgrims" from throughout the country will converge on this placid capital city March 26, Palm Sunday, responding to a call issued by supporters of the Harrisburg 7. The seven are on trial for conspiracy to destroy draft files, bomb Washington heating tunnels and kidnap White House adviser Henry Kissinger.

Using banners, eight-foot "people puppets" and blown up photos of war crimes in Indochina, a colorful Palm Sunday procession to the grounds of the state capitol will set the theme of death versus life, launching a week of rallies, workshops, teach-ins, concerts and marches.

Some 10,000 persons will be on hand for a climactic mass demonstration Saturday, April 1, according to the three sponsoring groups -- the Harrisburg Defense Committee, the National United Committees to Free Angela Davis and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Also on the program is a Good Friday anti-war action

(MORE)

5300

at nearby New Cumberland Army Depot, where C-47 helicopters damaged in Indochina combat are repaired. Defense committee spokesmen said the demonstration will be "life-affirming" and "nonviolent," but "militant" in tone.

As explained by its planners, the entire program seeks to give political relevance to the teachings and symbols of religion, especially those of the Lenten/Passover season. All but one of the Harrisburg 7 defendants are present or former Catholic clergy or nuns.

Apart from demonstrations, the main emphasis in the schedule falls on workshops, forums and panels. Gail Pressberg, a committee coordinator, said most of these will be how-to-do-it sessions aimed at converting religious and ethical opposition to the war into effective resistance.

"Most of those coming to Harrisburg are already sympathetic to the defendants and opposed to the war," she said. "Here they get a chance to learn how to organize for change."

To that end, the committee is bringing veteran organizers from more than a dozen peace movement and civil rights groups to Harrisburg. Among them are Vietnam Veterans Against the War, War Tax Resistance, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Conference Education Fund, Institute for Policy Studies and NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex).

Workshop leaders will provide videotapes, slide shows and literature on the air war in Indochina, the "automated battlefield."

(MORE)



the complicity of churches and corporations in U.S. war policy and basic techniques of organizing.

Alger Hiss, who served a prison term as a result of Senate investigations sparked by Richard M. Nixon, will take part in a panel on "Nixon's Asian Policy" to be moderated by Egbal Ahmad, one of the Harrisburg defendants. Other panelists are Owen Lattimore and John Melby, both former members of the U.S. foreign service who were dismissed during the McCarthy purges of the early 1950s.

Besides war resistance, the week will include a study of "alternative institutions" such as free schools, food cooperatives and health clinics. A special program on "The Politics of Human Liberation" will deal both with women's liberation and men's response.

Entertainers listed on the program include Peter Yarrow of Peter, Paul and Mary; John Colton, singer and composer who was a prison mate of Father Daniel Berrigan; Barbara Dane, New York singer-organizer who specializes in encouraging anti-war sentiment among servicemen; and Coney Island's Bread and Puppet Theater.

An entire evening session is devoted to a "dialogue with Dave Dellinger." Dellinger, one of the defendants in the trial of the Chicago 7, is an editor of Liberation magazine and a major spokesman for the nonviolent resistance movement.

The Holy Week program is the high point of a national "pilgrimage for peace and freedom" launched on Ash Wednesday

(MORE)

in connection with the Harrisburg trial. Coordinators claim that local and regional organizing has been carried out by pilgrimage committees in more than 40 U.S. cities throughout the Lenten season.

Seven official pilgrimage caravans will be traveling toward Harrisburg before and during Holy Week, stopping in communities en route to stage rallies and to solidify a network of resistance-minded groups which coordinators hope will outlast the trial.

The New England pilgrimage got under way at Danbury, Conn., on Feb. 24, the day of Father Daniel Berrigan's release from the Danbury federal prison. Its tour includes cities in Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine and Massachusetts.

One small group of 8 to 12 persons will walk the entire route from the New Jersey end of Manhattan's George Washington bridge to Harrisburg, starting on March 16. Among other plans the group will play turn-about with the Federal Bureau of Investigation by photographing agents at FBI offices along the way.

Touring caravans will originate also in Albuquerque, N.Mex., Baltimore, Md., Chicago, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, Pa., and Syracuse, N.Y. Contingents moving directly to Harrisburg without planned events en route will come from Albany, N.Y., Atlanta, Ga., Madison and Milwaukee, Wis., Pecorah, Iowa, and St. Louis, Mo.

According to spokesmen, at least some of the caravans

(MORE)

will use their return trips to renew contacts and to pass along information gained from the Holy Week program.

The result, they hope, will be to "turn the trial around" by recruiting new activists for a long-term struggle against war and repression.

4

NOTE TO EDITORS: Folders supplied with some of these releases incorrectly list a concert by Judy Collins on the program for March 31. Ms. Collins was forced by a schedule conflict to cancel her participation.

## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

Pg 32

FILE NO: See ReferencesRE: Alger HissDATE March 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
118-8718-19	1/27/51	Cleveland Report	1	1	N.P.
118-7533-2	8/11/50	Boston teletype	1	1	N.P.
61-8157-119	11/3/50	SAN Diego Letter w/encd	4	2	N.P.
100-401526-19	9/18/60	Springfield Airtel w/encd	42	1	N.P.
138-824-3	7/29/53	New York Report	35	4	N.P.
138-1320-27	8/14/53	WFO Report	13	3	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
138-387-30	6/11/53	WFO Report	11	2	N.P.
100-184255-184	10/18/45	New York Report	11	3	N.P.
100-184255-500	12/30/48	Los Angeles Letter	7	4	N.P. (b)(7)(C) (b)(7)(D)
100-331270-34	6/26/50	New York Report	6	6	N.P.
			131	27	

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1-138

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. 118-829

REPORT MADE AT <b>CLEVELAND</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>1/27/51</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1/25/51</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>STANLEY E. PETERSON</b> CEP
TITLE [REDACTED]		CHARACTER OF CASE [REDACTED]	

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

[REDACTED]

- RUC -

[REDACTED]

**Reference:**

[REDACTED]

**Details:**

[REDACTED]

He stated that he was a classmate of ALGER HISS. He stated that the applicant was one year behind he and HISS in the school and to the best of his knowledge the applicant attended the school from 1927 to 1929. **VOFREY** stated that the applicant belonged to the same "eating club," as did he and HISS and that they associated in the same group.

*led*

[REDACTED]

RETURN UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN - DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>P. J. [Signature]</i>	RECORDED - 5
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3 - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - Cleveland	INDEXED - 50
JAN 30 1951	

LOS ANGELES

8/11/50

4:55 p.m.

JS:ec

*Boston to*  
SAC  
DIRECTOR LOS ANGELES

[REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES REQUESTED TO USE DISCRETION

IN INTERVIEW OF PROFESSOR JOHNSON WHO HAS REPEATEDLY STATED HE IS PERSONAL  
FRIEND OF ALGER HISS AND WHO HAS SUCCEEDED HISS AS PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE  
PEACE FOUNDATION.

END

THORNTON

118-2176

cc Bureau

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL  
This is an internal investigation  
for a Security Matter in CIA.  
The information in this individ-  
ual must not be disclosed to any  
person outside of the FBI.

INDEXED - 91 118-7533-2

NOT RECORDED  
8 AUG 14 1950

12 OCT 1950

SEP 10 8 31 AM

55 SEP 23 1950



Who is an anti-Semite?—one whom the Jew hate AND FEAR because he is telling the Truth.

A rupture of the Federal Union of States would be among the greatest calamities which could befall the people of America; but not the greatest, there is yet one greater; submission to a government of unlimited powers.  
—James Madison.

California MONDAY, November 6, 1950

\$4 per year — Single Copy 10 Cents

# San Diego Banker Joins Anti-BROOM Forces

Joseph W. Sellon  
By C. LEON de ARYAN

When the Jewish anti-Nazi and Defamation Leagues of B'nai B'rith decided to suppress The BROOM after Samuel Satermyer returned from a devilish conspiracy meeting of top Jews in Amsterdam, where the Rothschild Sanhedrin in conjunction with Standard Oil interests had decided to start a war for the annihilation of Germany's "Drang nach Osten," meaning Bagdad, which threatened the Standard Oil prospect of empire over the desert fields of Arabia and the Middle East, the people of San Diego witnessed a duel between a small American editor, an individual with daring to stand by his constitutional rights, and the richest and most powerful political organization in the world: the International Banksters and exploiters, warmongers, and war financiers, betrayers of all that is decent and sacred in human existence, for the greed and lust after pelf and power.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

This was the start of the anti-Nazi League in America and the beginning of war with Germany. The BROOM as an institution and representative of Aryan Thought and practice, as well as its editor as a private individual, frown upon any use of force to subdue and terrorize a people into giving up its patrimony at the command of a group of ruthless exploiters and traitors to humanity. We opposed German militarism of the Kaiser, as well as of Hitler, on general principle and specifically because the Kaiser and the Rothschilds were just two names for the same warmongering group, intimates to whom the peoples of the world were fair prey and their patrimonies were the prize of war, never mind the right and the wrong of

to strike as "American."  
In San Diego we gave a demonstration of how to picket pickets and it soon was copied from coast to coast. Our editor was copied the bay by the Harry Bridges union of Communist controlled mobs and we refused to subscribe to the Blue Eagle and give up our rights to FDR.

## OUR TERRORIST FBI

To all intents and purposes, we take our oath of allegiance exceedingly seriously and live up to it even if we have to pay with our blood, health, life and—yes—liberty. For in the final outcome it was the U. S. A.—the FBI—who as a political Gestapo was instrumental in jailing us upon trumped-up charges that we had conspired with some 40 other publishers of periodicals and various pamphleteers to "demoralize the armed forces in the city of Washington," where we had not been for 19 years and knew almost none of the alleged "conspirators."

THOMAS WHELAN

In order to deprive us of all our rights, the Jews planned to have our citizenship revoked. When Immigration investigators contacted various people in San Diego to find some "moral turpitude" on which grounds to revoke our citizenship as having been obtained by fraud they contacted Thomas Whelan, then District Attorney of San Diego County. Whelan told them they were hunting up the wrong tree, for if there ever was a conscientious individual who opposed terrorism in every shape and form and supported constitutional government to the last, his name was C. Leon de Aryan. Whelan wrote a letter to the then United States Attorney General Francis Biddle to that effect, informing him to call off his dogs.

And realizing that "there but for the grace

61-8157-119

power.

But Untermeyer, representative of Jewish financial interests, as well as aspirators to the possession of Palestine and especially the Dead Sea treasures of trillions of tons of valuable salts and minerals, being a Kol Nidre Jew who on Yom Kippur forswears in his Day of Atonement prayers, all oaths of allegiance entered into, including the oath of allegiance to Our Constitution, as prescribed by Jewish "atonement" ritual, had no respect nor regard whatever for treaties entered into by the U. S. A. with Germany. Riding roughshod over such "scraps of paper," the Jews of America were commanded by the Sanhedrin to execute its decrees and begin boycotting Germany until the U. S. A. would finally be forced into world war II to give the "coup de grace" to Germany and insure American armed protection to both: the Zionists with the Dead Sea treasures, as well as the Rockefellers and their oil empire.

As a comparatively recent immigrant to this country we were much better informed of the intrigues in world-wide proportions than the average American and realizing what the final aim of the Rothschilds is: a Jewish dictatorship over all the world as in Soviet Russia, we were as determined to expose and to continue to expose the machinations of Untermeyer, his anti-Nazi League, which was appealing to our bleeding hearts to stop Hitler from exterminating the Polish Jews, whom the Sanhedrin used as bait to force them to migrate to Palestine, become Israeli soldiers and defend the Dead Sea fortunes against any future aggressor. The truth and facts of the matter is that Hitler was hired by the Jews to do exactly what he did. Hitler imagined himself smart enough and the German military organization strong enough, to use the Jewish finances and still conquer Europe and the Near East. But too late did the German people find out that force destroys itself and they certainly are an example of how it works in the end.

### BLIND HATRED LEADS TO WAR

Foreseeing all this, The BROOM and its editor refused to bow to the commands of Untermeyer Jews and join the hymn of hate Germany, which meant ultimate war for us.

But our activities for America First were not confined to the foreign field. Internally, the New Deal, which is nothing but the front for Communism in America, as well as the Fair Deal, favored the labor racketeers whom it incited and supported into organizing as a compact mob to disrupt the natural evolution of free enterprise and initiative and precipitate strife between the employing and employee classes. At no time did we concede the "right"

owner of the San Diego Trust and Savings Bank, also wrote a letter in similar vein as the example set by Whelan, followed by several Superior Court and Municipal Judges. That stopped the Immigration officials from abusing their office.

Recently, when so much fuss was being made about the wonderful achievements of the FBI in "protecting" us against Communists, I called attention to the fact that Whittaker Chambers, Alger Hiss and a thousand others have been operating unhampered; that atomic secrets were handed over to Stalin's minions; that only now, 3-4 and 5 years after cessation of hostilities, not through the astuteness of the FBI, but through the revelations of a Russian Embassy cipher clerk, Gusenko, in Canada; the spy activities came to light and convictions were had.

What did the FBI have to brag about?

But wherein did J. Edgar Hoover excel?

Why, they excelled in having de Aryan locked up—upon demand of the Jew!

For months on end the FBI had been canvassing "information" against de Aryan in 1942, January, February to July, to have him indicted by a federal grand jury in Los Angeles. We were subpoenaed twice to appear before it as a "witness." There was the FBI man and his bulky briefcase with "dossier" after dossier against me. After hours of presenting evidence how criminal I was because I refused to take dictation from Untermeyer, Rothschild, Rockefeller and FDR, finally, the grand jury interviewed me twice and each time I spoke without holding back. When they heard my story and verified it, as against the lies, smears and twists of the FBI, twice the grand jury refused to indict me. Then J. Edgar Hoover had his minions appear with the same twisted smear "dossier," a 4-inch stack of reports, stories which our readers have seen in The BROOM from our editor's self-biography which we use as illustrations for psychological lessons since what I experienced myself is the only true knowledge a person really has. And the FBI, Jew-controlled and directed, had me indicted in Washington, D. C., and hauled me there in manacles and leg chains, confined me in filthy jails and ruined my health.

Now Joseph W. Sefton struck a personal friendship with the local FBI top agent here and resented my articles disclosing that the FBI is worthless as a discoverer of Communist spies because all of them operated freely and only through the confessions of a Russian, later on of Whittaker Chambers, did the facts come to light through the insistence of Congressmen

61-8152-119

We never read

shall we

GOOD WORD

THE SUN

P. O. Box 308



9/18/60

HEDEY MASSING

a self-avowed Russian spy, testified that NOEL FIELD had been recruited into the espionage apparatus in Washington, D.C. in 1934. She testified that ALGER HISS had contacted for FIELD'S services.

100-401526-19

[REDACTED]

"I am sending letters of introduction to the following and will send you carbons:

*W. H. Washburn*  
"ALGER HISS, HORNBECK's very able private secretary."

138-824-3

Concerning ALGER HISS, mentioned in the above letter, it is to be noted that he is a former official of the United States Department of State who was convicted of perjury in the Southern District of New York on January 21, 1950 in that he denied contact subsequent to January 1, 1937 with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, a self-confessed former Russian espionage agent, and also denied furnishing originals or copies of confidential State Department documents to CHAMBERS.

The "New York Times" newspaper of August 3, 1948, page 1, column 1, in an article entitled, "Red Underground in Federal Positions Alleged By Editor" sets forth that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 2, 1948 described ALGER HISS as a member of a Communist "underground" operating in Washington, D.C., in the 1930's.

138-824-3

X On July 16, 1941 EDWARD C. CARTER advised ALGER HISS, Department of State, Washington, D.C., that his son, BILL CARTER, was currently in Washington, D.C., employed by the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, Federal Communications Commission, and also supplied HISS with his son's home address and telephone number.

Information concerning ALGER HISS has previously been set forth.

The informant advised that in August 1941 he

observed a letter that EDWARD C. CARTER had written to his son, WILLIAM DRAPER CARTER, in which he thanked him for the interesting and fascinating news and stated that he was glad that WILLIAM DRAPER CARTER had met ALGER HISS whom EDWARD C. CARTER described as an exceptionally fine mind and spirit.

138-824-3

8/14/53

Supervisor IBRD recommends  
and states employee was assistant of ALGER HISS in Office  
of Special Political Affairs, Department of State.

138-1320-27

8/14/53

He advised that in 1947 the employee was assigned to the Division of UN Affairs in the State Department as an Assistant to ALGER HISS. He advised he did not know for what period of time the employee worked under HISS, but he stated he was sure that this was no more than a working acquaintance for which [redacted] was not responsible.

138-1320-27

8/19/33

The records of the United States District Court, New York, New York, reflected that ALGER HISS was convicted on two counts of perjury on January 20, 1940, by the United States District Court at New York City, resulting from his testimony before a Grand Jury (1) wherein he denied that he furnished any Government documents or other information to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS or any other unauthorized person; (2) wherein he denied that he had seen WHITTAKER CHAMBERS subsequent to January 1, 1937.

WASH. D.C.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS is a self-confessed former member of the Communist Party and a former Soviet espionage agent who accused ALGER HISS of furnishing classified confidential information and documents to him for transmittal to the Soviet Union.

138-1320-27



PAUL A. FREUND, formerly an attorney in the Solicitor General's Office, while ALGER HISS was so employed, advised in 1949 that CHARLES HORSKY, employed in the firm of Covington, Burling, and Cheson, was apparently closely associated with HISS while employed in the Solicitor General's Office.

STEVEN FARRAND of Los Angeles has advised that he knew ALGER HISS while employed in the Solicitor General's Office and that he and HISS frequently played tennis with several individuals including CHARLES HORSKY. D.C.

138-387-30

[REDACTED]

On January 11, 1949, in connection with another investigation, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation interviewed CHARLES HORSKY, Room 701, Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C., relative to his knowledge of ALGER HISS. HORSKY stated that he came to Washington on August 1, 1935 and worked as an attorney in the Department of Justice, having his office next door to that occupied by HISS. He stated that he was very closely associated with HISS in a business way while in the Department of Justice and that this relationship continued until HISS left the Department of Justice. He said that they also resided near each other and as a result they would frequently have social contact.

Mr. HORSKY stated that he was fully aware of the charges against HISS and stated that if true it certainly bordered on treason, but that during his entire association with HISS he never noted anything which would indicate to him anything to substantiate disloyal charges. He stated frankly that he was on the side of HISS in the matter because he felt from his knowledge of HISS that the charges were wrong. He also stated that since 1937 he has more or less kept in touch with ALGER HISS, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly through DONALD HISS, his brother, who is in the same law firm with HORSKY. D.C.

The Washington Evening Star newspaper, issue of November 25, 1952, contained an article reflecting that ALGER HISS was convicted on January 25, 1950 on charges of lying under oath when he swore before a federal grand jury that he never passed secret government documents to WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, admitted courier for a pre-war Soviet spy ring. D.C.

138-387-30

10/18/45

100-184255-184

Informant reported that WARE was at that time a leader of a

10/18/45

group of men composed of Government employees in high-salaried positions who were Communist Party members, but whose activities with the Party had ceased, and they were transferred to the Underground apparatus of the Communist Party. Among others in this group, according to Informant, were the following:

- JOHN ABT
- LEE PRESSMAN
- HELEN COLLINS
- ALGER HISS (now of the State Department)
- NATHAN PERLOW
- CHARLES KPIVITSKI, also known as CHARLES KRAMER

100-184255-184

10/18/45

NY 100-24753

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

[REDACTED]

T-1 is WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, now one of the senior editors of TIME Magazine, former editor of the DAILY WORKER and NEW PASSES.

[REDACTED]

100-184255-184

12/30/48

By letter dated December 23, 1948, [redacted] further said that he had learned from "Mr. X" that he, "Mr. X," whom he did not wish to identify until his personal contact with this Office, had in his possession certain photographs of ALGER HISS huddled with Communists and Russians and, [redacted] believes, WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, which photographs were taken in San Francisco in 1945 at the time of the United Nations meeting.

100-138754-500

12/30/48

als and protested to them about ALGER HISS' association with the above mentioned person.

During the recent publicity given to the WHITTAKER CHAMBERS-ALGER HISS matter in the press, [redacted] revived his interest in fighting Communism and after a discussion of the situation with unidentified individuals in the motion picture industry and following a speech by GERALD L. K. SMITH at the Hollywood High School Auditorium on a recent date, [redacted] went to SMITH for advice as to how to get up an organization in the motion picture industry to fight Communism.

100-138754-500

12/30/48

[redacted] said that he had advised [redacted] to make available the photographs which he had of ALGER HISS to the FBI and any other information which might be of aid.

100-138754-500

[redacted] said that he questioned [redacted] about the pictures he had of ALGER HISS and it appears that they were taken by a friend.



12/30/48

December 28, 1948

Director, FBI

[Redacted]

16881

of [Redacted] during the United Nations conference and there seems to be some question in [Redacted] mind as to whether or not one of the individuals photographed with HISS was or was not WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, the individual presently acting as a witness for the House Committee on un-American Activities in Washington, D. C.

100-138754-500

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **LOS ANGELES**

NY FILE NO. **100-91785** DES

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>6/26/50</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/8, 9, 5/18, 19, 27; 6/7, 15, 21/50</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JAMES J. SMITH</b>
TITLE <b>WILLIAM ROSEN, with aliases: Will Rosen, Bill Rosen</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="background-color: black; width: 100%; height: 20px;"></div>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Subject presently resides 2114 Third Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Formerly staff member of "Morning Freiheit" in 1946. Appeared before Grand Jury, SDNY on 3/2/49. Refused to answer specific questions. Held in contempt of U.S. District Court, SDNY 3/8/49 for violation of Sections 401 and 402 Title 18, USC. Received sentence not to exceed 6 months. U.S. District Court of Appeals, Second Circuit on 5/12/49 reversed decision of U.S. District Court, SDNY.

100-91785-100  
5-29-50-PM  
(copy)

G. I. R. - 1

- RUC -

**DETAILS:** On January 26, 1950, Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability, advised that the subject was presently residing at 2114 Third Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

*COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY*

Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised on October 18, 1946 that WILLIAM ROSEN, 2009 Bunker Hill Road, N.E., Washington, D. C., was a member of the staff of the "Morning Freiheit". (EMPLOYED BY)

The newspaper, "The Worker", the Sunday edition of an East Coast Communist newspaper, dated January 9, 1944, on page 3, sets forth an article by

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *Edward Scheidt*

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPY DESTROYED

100-331270-34

INDEXED - 11  
RECORDED - 75



FILE

B.F.P.T.

EX-30

52 JUL 21 1950

NY 100-91785

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, which stated that the "Morning Freiheit" is one of the many newspapers either owned or supported by the Communist Party.

On March 2, 1949, WILLIAM ROSEN of Santa Monica, California, in response to a subpoena, appeared before a Grand Jury which was impanelled on December 15, 1948 in the Southern District of New York, Foley Square, New York City. The Grand Jury was sitting to hear testimony concerning subversive activities in the United States. The substance of the questions asked by the Grand Jury of the subject were as follows:

Did the subject have any conversation with any person in 1936 concerning the registration of a Ford automobile in his name?

Did the subject ever obtain a Certificate of Title or registration for a Ford automobile?

Did the subject ever see a Certificate of Title of a motor vehicle issued by the Director of Vehicles in Traffic in the District of Columbia which held Title No. 245647?

*fel*  
This certificate of title was issued for a 1929 Ford roadster, issued on September 19, 1933 to ALGER HISS at 3411 O Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. On the second page of the certificate of title, it was indicated that it was transferred by ALGER HISS on June 23, 1936 to the Cherner Motor Company, 1781 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. The certificate was signed by ALGER HISS and notarized by W. MARVIN SMITH. This certificate also indicated that it was transferred to WILLIAM ROSEN, 5405 - 13th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. on the same day, namely, June 23, 1936. This was notarized by HENRY J. GERTLER.

The certificate also reflected the purchaser's application for a new certificate of title. The application was in the name of WILLIAM ROSEN, 5405 - 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and it was notarized by HENRY J. GERTLER to the effect that WILLIAM ROSEN appeared before him for the purpose of obtaining this certificate of title.

The subject was asked whether he had ever seen the original or a copy of this mentioned certificate of title of a motor vehicle. The court

NY 100-91785

records reflected that the subject refused to answer the above questions on the grounds that any answer that he might give may tend to incriminate him.

The records of the Office of the Clerk of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York reflected, under Criminal Docket No. 129155, the case of the United States vs. WILLIAM ROSEN in which the subject was being tried in this court because he had refused to answer specific questions asked by him of the Grand Jury on March 2, 1949.

The subject was adjudged in contempt of court for failure to answer these questions in violation of Sections 401 and 402, Title 18, United States Code.

On March 8, 1949, United States Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind sentenced the subject to a period not to exceed six months. The subject was paroled in custody of his attorney, EMANUEL H. BLOCK, 270 Broadway, New York City.

On March 9, 1949, the subject filed a Notice of Appeal to the United States District Court of Appeals, Second Circuit.

On May 12, 1949, the United States District Court of Appeals reversed the order of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

The records of the Office of the United States Marshal, Southern District of New York and the House of Detention, Southern District of New York reflected that the subject had never been received in their custody and had not been fingerprinted at the time of the citation for contempt.

On March 8, 1949, the "Brooklyn Eagle", a daily newspaper, contained the following article:

"ROSEN FOUND GUILTY ON CONTEMPT CHARGE

"Reluctant Witness Gets Six Months For Refusing to Talk About Hiss Auto

"WILLIAM ROSEN, 65, of Santa Monica, Cal., was found guilty of contempt of court today by Manhattan Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind, who sentenced him to six months' imprisonment for his refusal to answer questions before the special grand jury investigating subversive activities.

NY 100-91785

"The case, it was learned, may wind up in the United States Supreme Court. The contempt citation was the first since a Manhattan special grand jury started probing subversive activities in 1947. Some 150 persons have appeared before the current grand jury and its predecessor.

"ROSEN has been questioned before the grand jury in Manhattan in the Federal Courthouse building for three days about the transfer of an ancient Ford roadster once owned by ALGER HISS, former top-flight State Department official.

"Transfer of the car had been the bone of contention in conflicting testimony by HISS and WHITTAKER CHAMBERS before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"Despite a directive by Judge Rifkind to ROSEN that he answer pertinent questions about the car, ROSEN had persisted yesterday in his refusal because the answers 'might incriminate' him.

"Counsel for ROSEN immediately contested the sentence. Arguments for bail pending an appeal were set for later today.

"CHAMBERS Denied Gift

"HISS had told the House committee that he gave his 1929 Ford car to CHAMBERS, but CHAMBERS denied he ever had the car. According to Washington motor vehicle records, the car was transferred by HISS to the Cherner Motor Company in July, 1936, and on the same day the ownership was transferred to ROSEN.

"Judge Rifkind said ROSEN's testimony about the automobile might have a bearing on HISS' credibility. HISS was indicted by the grand jury which preceded the current jury on charges of perjury".

The October 18, 1949 issue of the "Daily Compass" contained an article in which it was stated, "The Supreme Court refused to rule on whether the contempt conviction of a witness in the ALGER HISS case was properly overturned by the Appeals Court. The ruling was asked by the Justice Department in the case of WILLIAM ROSEN, 65, of Santa Monica, California who was sentenced to six months in jail for refusing to answer questions of a Federal Grand Jury in New York City while it had the ALGER HISS case under investigation".

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

NY 100-91785

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

The information concerning the 2009 Bunker Hill Road, N. E., Washington, D. C. address of the subject was contained in the report of SA Edward F. Hummer dated September 29, 1948 at Washington, D. C. entitled, "WILLIAM HERBERT ROSEN, with aliases, [REDACTED]"

NY 100-91785

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The confidential informants mentioned in the report of SA James J. Smith dated June 26, 1950 at New York are as follows:

T-1



T-2



\*\*\*\*\*

REFERENCE:



## INVENTORY WORKSHEET

Pg 33

FILE NO:

See Reference

RE:

Alger Hiss

DATE

March, 1977

SERIAL	DATE	DESCRIPTION	NO OF PGS		EXEMPTIONS USED OR TO WHOM REFERRED IDENTIFY STATUTE (b) (3)
			ACT	REL	
123-487-18X	2/19/51	New York Letter	2	1	N.P.
138-2357-23	2/8/54	Milwaukee Letter	5	2	N.P.
138-2357-23	2/16/54	Airtel to New York, etc	2	1	N.P.
100-149163-83	2/24/49	Boston Teletype	2	1	N.P.
62-88217-186	8/31/51	memo Laughlin to Ladd w/enc.	—	—	Not subject to disclosure under FOIA.
100-184255-201	2/14/47	memo Ladd to the Director w/enc.	5	4	N.P.
100-184255-222	9/18/47	memo Ladd to the Director	3	2	N.P.
100-184255-222	9/26/47	Letter to the Attorney Gen. From the Director	3	2	N.P.
123-8124-4	2/3/51	New York Teletype	1	1	N.P. (b)(7)(C)
			23	14	



2/19/51

On January 20, 1944, ROSE YARDUMIAN, of the IPR Office, Washington, D.C., sent a letter to EDWARD C. CARTER in which she stated that she had contacted ALGER HISS and he told her that he could not make the first advance in arranging a private talk with ROGOFF of the Tass Office in Washington. She stated that HISS advised that ROGOFF'S material had caused considerable controversy within the circles in Washington, D.C. HISS told Miss YARDUMIAN that if LARRY TODD wanted to bring ROGOFF to STANLEY K. HORNBECK'S office, they would not refuse to see him. In her letter, ROSE YARDUMIAN advised that LAUHLIN CURRIE had made arrangements to see ROGOFF on that day.

123-487-18X

2/8/54

"1. Among those individuals I have known, at least three have been charged with participation in or association with subversive activities: Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and Frank Coe.

*Handwritten:* P. 2  
SAC NY  
cc [unclear]  
WF, MLJ  
DR, [unclear]  
IRS, [unclear]

RECORDED - 50  
INDEXED - 50  
138-2357-23  
ADM:ALF  
JAN 11 1954  
902

2/8/54

D.C. N.H.

"I first became acquainted with Alger Hiss in 1943, when I was employed by the Department of State as Assistant Chief of the Division of Research. I believe our first meeting was at some conference in connection with my work. Subsequently I saw Mr. Hiss perhaps two or three times in the course of my duties. During the summer of 1944, I frequently joined him and his brother Donald for a sun bath during the lunch hour on the roof of the Y.M.C.A. After leaving the employ of the State Department late that summer, I did not see Mr. Hiss again until the summer of 1947, when he was a sort of executive secretary for a conference on international relations held by the Brookings Institution at Dartmouth College. Our relations were friendly but not intimate.

138-2357-23

2/16/54

[REDACTED]

OF DETROIT, ELLSWORTH IN HIS STATEMENT INDICATES FRIENDSHIP WITH  
ALGER HISS, HARRY DEXTER WHITE, AND FRANK COE, EACH OF WHOM HAS  
BEEN DESCRIBED BY ELIZABETH BENTLEY AS HAVING BEEN INVOLVED IN  
ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON, D. C., IN THE EARLY 1940'S.

*Rel*

[REDACTED]

HOOVER

138-2357-23

6/24/49

CRITICAL OF THE HOUSE UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND GRISWOLD FUTHER WA  
SYMPATHY FOR ALGER ~~HISS~~ .

100-149163-83

2/14/47

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

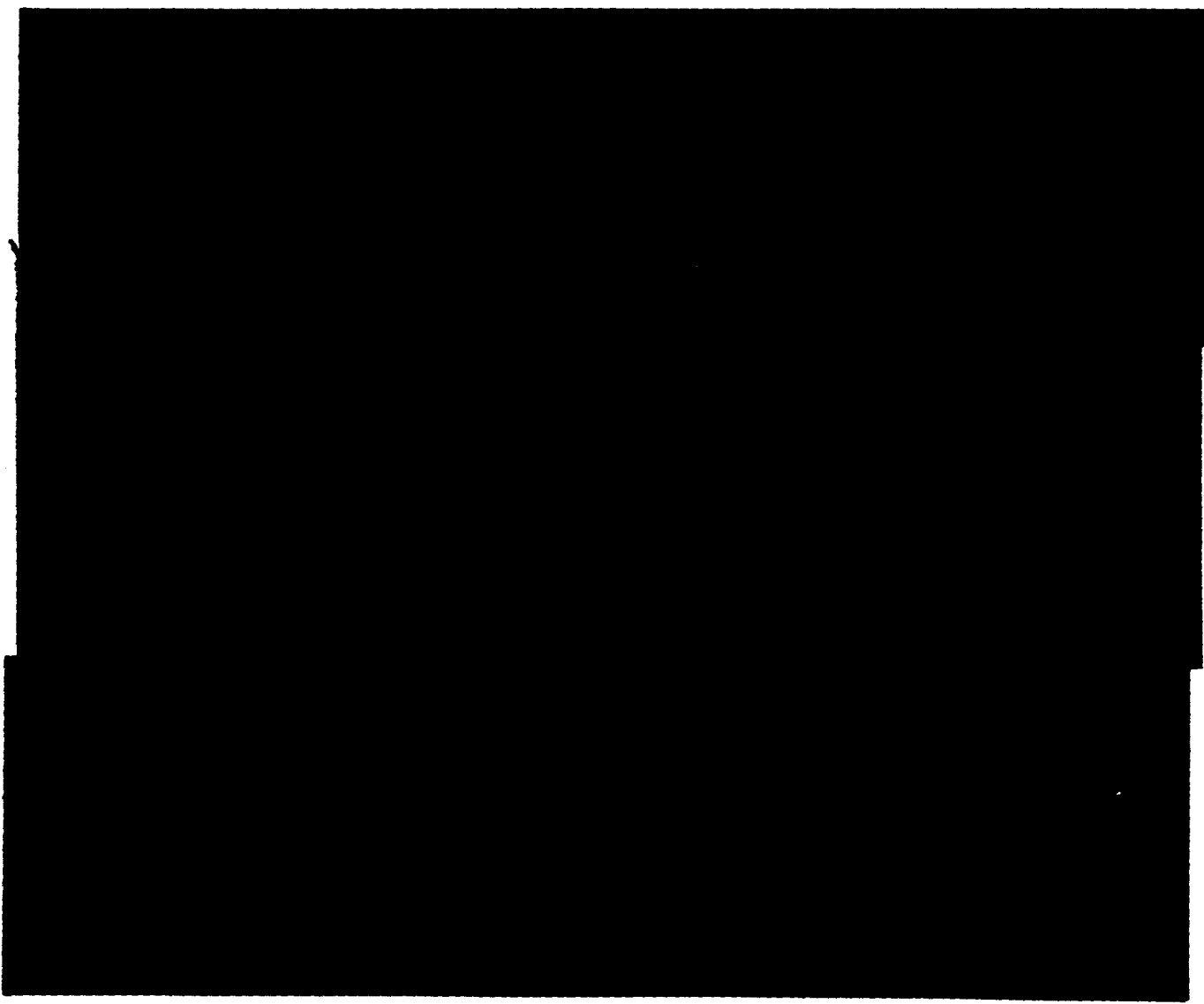
[REDACTED]

Peters was supervising the affairs of one of these groups among whom the following were members: John Abt, presently General Counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Lee Pressman, presently General Counsel for the CIO; Henry Collins, at one time in the Forestry Service of the Department of Agriculture; Nathan Perlow, an economist; Charles Kraner, formerly with the LaFollette Committee and later of the OPA; Alger Hiss, lately of the State Department; Donald Hiss, brother of Alger Hiss, who at that time was in the Labor Department; Nathan Witt, former General Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; and Schlower Adler, an employee of the Treasury Department.

[REDACTED]

2/14/47

He was described on February 1, 1943, by informants as the former head of the Communist Underground Movement in the United States. Whitaker Chambers, former Managing Editor of the Daily Worker, said that Peters was formerly the Treasurer of the Hungarian paper, "Nj Elore". Benjamin Gitlow, one of the founders of the Communist Party in this country said that Peters was the member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Section of the Communist Party.



100-184255-201

# Another Stalin Agent Is Smoked Out Here

## Red Textbook On Revolution His Handwork

By NELSON FRANK.

World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Another agent of the Communist International is still operating in the United States. He has just been unearthed by the World-Telegram and is the third to be spotted by this paper.

This one is J. Peters, a German, who is author of a revolutionary handbook on Communist tactics, and currently membership director of the New York Communist party under the alias of Steve Miller.

State Dept. Explains.

[In Washington, the State Dept. said today, according to the Associated Press, that a Presidential order overruled the department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1945 to authorize admission into this country of Alfred Kantorowicz, a German national who received a Mexican passport in France in 1940.]

[Kantorowicz had obtained a travel certificate from the American Consul General and landed in New York June 16, 1941. He has since returned to Germany.]

[The statement by the State Dept. was issued to counteract published reports of differences between the department and the FBI over admission of both Kantorowicz and Gerhard W. Eisler, who has been described as a Communist agent in the past and Ferdy-Like Galt, other agents named by Louis P. Budenz, former Communist party national committeeman, as operatives of the Comintern. Peters has for years directed affairs from the background.]

But his book, "The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization," as since 1935 been the party's guide to its ultimate aim, the overthrow of the American system of society.

Just Accept Theory of Revolution.

On the very first page of his 127-page book, Peters writes "the Communist party of the U. S. A. leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism (and) for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States."

He explains that it will be the job of the party to "convince the majority of the working class that a revolution is necessary."

But lest this be too tough a job he approvingly quotes Lenin as saying "for a revolution, it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution."

Appropriately enough, he notes that to be a party member, one must be willing to "accept the program and statutes of the Communist Party."

(Continued on Page Four.)

Reels

100-184255-201

N.Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM  
2/13 - 1947



# meless lames



Acme Newspictures.

is the way Mrs. Lucy Sorso and her two daughters, Rose Marie, 6, and Rose Marie, 2, to safety across adjoining from the fire early today air home at 272 10th St.,

Marie, 2, she attempted to her way down the stairs, was blocked by smoke and

ckly she and her children out on the ledge and crossed wo buildings where she broke sh a window to reach safety.

Catello Gambale, 26, an veteran, the fire was a par-tragedy. Two months ago, months of searching, he had an apartment at 272. He in last December with his

as he looked over the his home, he said plain-guess we'll have to move y in-laws."

Monmouth

# 3rd Stalin Agent Operating Here

(Continued from Page One)

nist International" as well as that of the local party.

Most needed by the party, he states, are "professional revolutionists." He defines what he and Lenin mean by this term.

"A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his class.

Must Obey Blindly.

"(He) is ready to go whenever and wherever the party sends him—from these comrades the party demands everything." He adds, "Our task is to make every party member a professional revolutionist in this sense."

In listing Peters and Marini as Comintern emissaries, Mr. Budenz, who renounced the party to return to the Catholic Church, called attention to the fact that while both were agents, Eisler was a chief agent. Peters, like Eisler, has his home in Queens.

Marini, this paper showed last week, after serving time in jail during the war for failure to register as an enemy alien, has secured a job with the party-controlled fraternal society, the International Workers Order. Aliases used by him were "Alpi and F. Brown."

Active Red for Dozen Years.

Peters has been active in the party for the past dozen years. At the convention of the New York State Communist party in the summer of 1945, he was nominated for the state committee but was not listed among those elected.

An introduction to Peter's book by Jack Stachel, currently a member of the party's ruling secretariat, notes that "it is necessary... that we insure every party member securing a copy of the Manual and reading it—and especially every comrade holding a post of responsibility."

Significantly the book reports that "the Communist party is responsible for building (the) very important mass organization," the Young Communist League. The League several years ago changed its name and is now known as the American Youth for Democracy. "Yoke of Capitalism."

Concluding, the book states "every Communist must know that the party has a historical mission to fulfill, that it has the mission of liberating the oppressed exploited masses from the yoke of capitalism . . ."

"It has the mission of organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of a new society."

# Sugar Qu To Ex-off

A former Kingston corporate counsel and present chairman of the Ulster County Democratic committee, promised to aid for \$1500 an OPA investigation into a false sugar ration card, it was testified to federal court. After the case was passed the investigator in a favorable report, it was The testimony came in a week-old trial before Judge E. Watkins and a jury of F. Gottfried, former head of the Rock Mineral Springs Corporation, N. Y.; Joseph Forman, the one-time Kingston OPA investigator. All are accused of conspiring to falsify the Rock Corp.'s sugar application. George Long of Chicago, former Pure Rock manager, said he was Mr. Forman in Kingston a Gottfried's request and told the company had said it twice as much sugar in 1941 base year, as it actually had chased. Mr. Forman answered testified, that "Stanton was man and through him could i

Handwritten signature or initials.

100-184255-201

# Births Increase, Deaths Fall Off

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Births were up and deaths down in 1946 the U. S. Public Health Service reported today. He said 3,260 live births were registered, 11 per cent above the record of 1945. Estimated deaths totaled 1,400 compared to 1,401,719 in 1945.

# State Dept. Art Draws a Shudder

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Rep. Karl Stefan (R., Neb.) took one look today at a State Department art collection intended for showing abroad and shuddered:

"No wonder foreigners think Americans are crazy."

People in all parts of the country sent bitter complaints about the art to the House Appropriations Committee after magazines published photographs of some of the paintings, Stefan told a reporter.

Most of them singled out a canvas portraying a strapping young amazon in diaphanous garb, reclining. Its title is "Caucasian Girl Resting," but the indignant letter writers said substance she looked more like a Chicago Bears tackle taking over during time out.

9/18/47

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

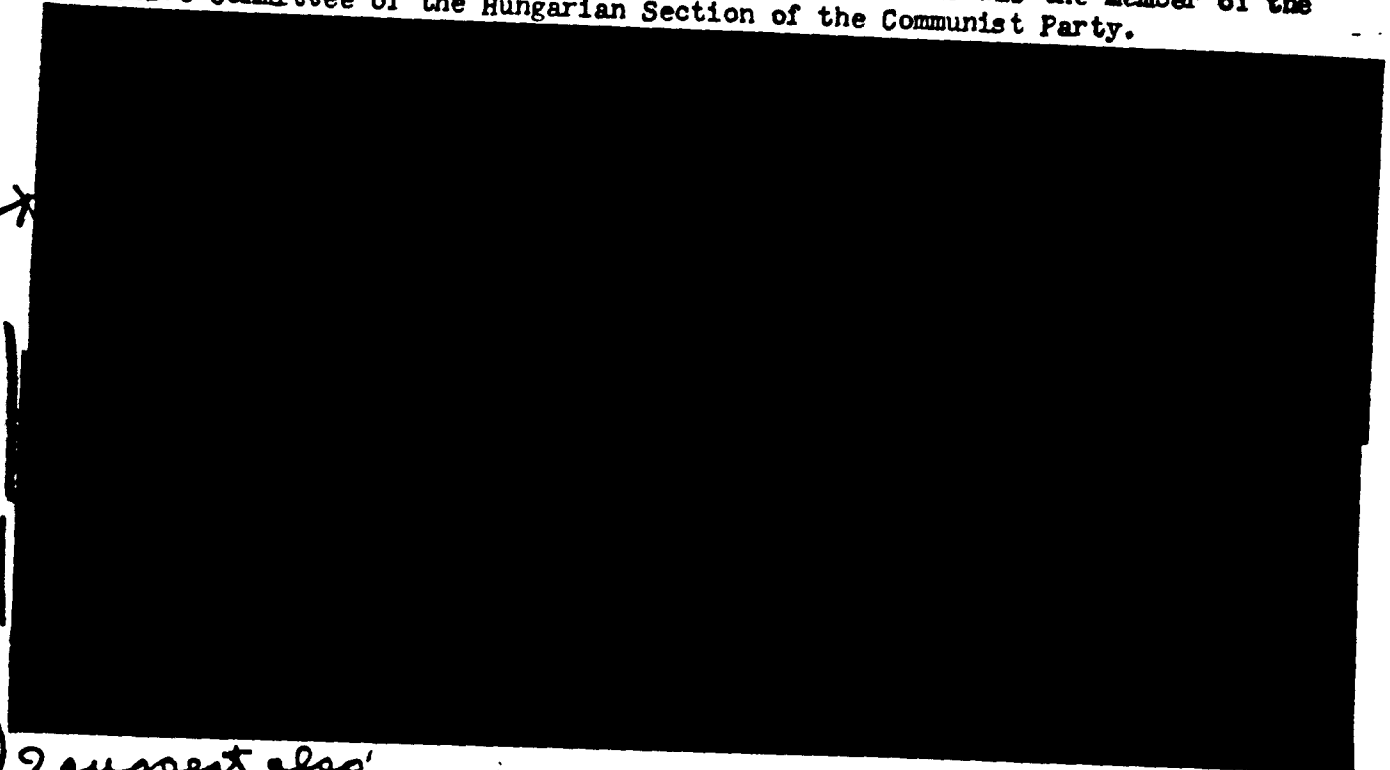
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The subject was supervising the affairs of one of these groups among whom the following were members: John ~~Abt~~, presently General Counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Lee Pressman, presently General Counsel for the CIO; Henry Collins, at one time in the Forestry Service of the Department of Agriculture; Nathan Ferlow, an economist; Charles Kramer, formerly with the LaFollette Committee and later of the OPA; Alger Hiss, lately of the State Department; Donald Hiss, brother of Alger Hiss, who at that time was in the Labor Department; Nathan Witt, former General Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; and Schlomer Adler, an employee of the Treasury Department.



He was described on February 1, 1943, by informants as the former head of the Communist underground movement in the United States. Whitaker Chambers, former Managing Editor of the Daily Worker, said that Stevens was formerly the treasurer of the Hungarian paper "Uj Elore." Benjamin Citlow, one of the founders of the Communist Party in this country, said that Stevens was the member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Section of the Communist Party.



I suggest also  
a memo to  
a s 9-19  
L.A. |

9/26/49

The Attorney General

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The subject was supervising the affairs of one of these groups among whom the following were members: John Abt, presently General Counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Lee Pressman, presently General Counsel for the CIO; Henry Collins, at one time in the Forestry Service of the Department of Agriculture; Nathan Perlow, an economist; Charles Kramer, formerly with the LaPolletta Committee and later of the OPA; Alger Hiss, lately of the State Department; Donald Hiss, brother of Alger Hiss, who at that time was in the Labor Department; Nathan Witt, former General Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; and Schlomer Adler, an employee of the Treasury Department.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

2-3-51

10

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Belmont	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Tele. Room	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 34 3 759 P  
DIRECTOR DEFERRED

[REDACTED]

NY FILES REFLECT [REDACTED] FORMER SECRETARY TO ALGER HISS AND HAS DECLARED TO INFORMANT TO BE A FRIEND AND ADMIRER OF HISS, EXPRESSING BELIEF THAT HISS WAS BEING UNJUSTLY PERSECUTED. [REDACTED]

SCHEIDT

HOLD PLS  
50 MAR 1 0 1951

RECORDED - 119  
INDEXED 119  
[Signature]

123-8124-4  
MAR 7 1951  
87